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Editor's Notes

One fascinating facet of the post-independence era has been the place of the administrator in the new scheme of things. While radical changes have been seen in Africa, the Indian sub-continent has been perhaps unexpectedly conservative. In this Number, Bradman Weerekon, an administrative officer in the field in Sri Lanka, explains his new role – coping with a Political Authority set over him, with whom he must maintain a good working relationship, while at the same time retaining major responsibilities for agricultural development and a miscellany of civil service matters – the readily recognisable generalist functions.

A. R. Hoyle contributes, this time, a description of training for Australian civil servants in the art of development administration, one particular value of which will be the broader knowledge students will gain of Third World problems in S.E. Asia and the Pacific.

Andrew Onokerhoraye comes down to the grass roots where local government really belongs – to the problems, here those of sanitation, which really matter to city dwellers and his message is that his government should recognise popular participation as an essential element in the urban planning process and should take action to stimulate such participation.

Lloyd Brown-John's 'in-basket' exercise relates to Canada, but similar circumstances will arise in nearly every land, and the material here should prove of value in administrative training elsewhere.

Finally Professor Villaneuva examines central/local relations in the Philippines and shows how hard it is to achieve decentralisation with national level officials reluctant to give up the controls they presently hold.

Role of Administrators in a Changing Agrarian Situation: The Sri Lanka Experience

BRADMAN WEERAKOON*

Sri Lanka, along with several other nations of the developing world is presently engaged in the task of re-designing its social, economic and political structures to deal with the pressures arising from what has been popularly termed the revolution of rising expectations. One important area of change is the agrarian field, and this paper, initially presented at a Seminar conducted in Sri Lanka by the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, in conjunction with the Agrarian Research and Training Institute, attempts to deal with some of the problems which administrators may face or have to deal with in future, in the context of the evolving situation.

The point of view taken will be particularly that of the role of the administrator out in the field, away from the Centre, who works in the districts, and his relationship with the people on the one hand and technical personnel and Political Authorities on the other. There will also be a discussion specifically focusing on the elements of the changes which constitute the 'changing agrarian situation' under way in Sri Lanka.

A useful point of beginning in understanding the role of an administrator is to see what administrators in fact do. Their work has been described, rather immodestly, as being catalysts of change. In the writer's view, particularly in the modern situation, is that the catalytic function is being performed more and more by political authorities, and that the administrator's work consists largely in the functions of linking the old with the new, of smoothing over the transition and in a general sense keeping the system in some kind of equilibrium.

Of course, the inevitable pressure groups which influence the politicians' decision-making capacity could well constrict his ability to function as an agent of change and in such a situation the burden could fall more on the administrator himself. However, the general experience of the developing countries, as the discussion in the section on the new institution of the District Political Authority will show, appears to be in the direction of institutionalising the position of the politician as

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the innovator of change. Certainly the explosive nature of the social and economic imperatives in these countries seems to demand radical solutions which are beyond the purview of present-day administrators.

There was a time, in colonial days, when the district administrator was unrivalled in the authority he exercised and where men of sympathy and understanding 'ran' a district in benevolent despotism. Consider for example a day in the life of Leonard Woolf,[1] Assistant Government Agent,[2] Hambantota, at the turn of the century.

21 October 1908
In morning to Ranna (10 miles). Held meeting of proprietors of Ranna Fields under Urubokka scheme to inquire into times of cultivation. The real difficulty of fixing times for cultivation under this scheme, so far as fields under the low level sluice are concerned, is the temporary dams.

In beginning cultivation the people have to build temporary dams across the stream in order to make *amunas*[3] in which to store the water. Then very often just as they are going to sow, a flood will come and wash the whole thing away and matters have to be started all over again from the beginning. It is very difficult therefore to bend the proprietors down to a definite period within which cultivation must be begun and finished.

At 1.30 bicycled 4 miles to Netolpitiya where my horse waited for me. Held meeting of proprietors of land under southern tanks fed by the Mandaduwa channel and then rode and walked right up these fields and chain of tanks as far as Tanesinghewewa, thence across country to Kahagal Vihara which I reached at about 7 pm and where I stayed the night'

Within a few superficial differences, it may be said that the field of interest of the modern administrator is more or less the same as that of a man entrusted with this work many years ago. But there are two obvious factors which men like Woolf did not have to contend with in their work. One is the rising importance of the political authority at district level in the form of the Member of Parliament and the recent institution of the District Political Authority, set up at the end of 1973, and, at the village level, the chairmen of local authorities. The other is the entry into the field

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[1]Leonard Woolf who later achieved great prominence as a writer served in the Ceylon Civil Service at the beginning of his career in the colonial administration. District administrators at this level were expected to maintain daily diaries, extracts of which were sent to the Colonial Secretary for his information. Woolf's diaries containing a wealth of information about the work of British Administrators in the outlying districts have been published.

[2]The Government Agent literally the Agent of the Government was earlier the chief administrative functionary of the Province of which there were nine in Woolf's time. An Assistant Government Agent was in charge of the civil administration of each District within a Province.

[3]A stick dam buttressed with earth and straw erected across a stream or channel to hold up water.

of a large number of specialist technical officers, like irrigation engineers, agricultural extension officers, plant pathologists and soil agronomists and more recently the settlement planners. The Members of Parliament perform the very valuable function of surfacing the problems of the rural people to the administration some of which may have gone unnoticed but for their activity and proposing possible solutions. They also act as a local check on the work of administrators and constitute in a sense the first level of accountability which the district administrator faces. In short, the Centre's evaluation of one's performance depends on, or is guided by, the acceptance which one obtains at the local political level. The District Political Authority is usually a member of the government parliamentary party who may hold the post of Deputy Minister at the national level and is specially selected and appointed by the Prime Minister to oversee development programmes in the district.

One of his special responsibilities is to mobilize people on a political or ideological level to participate in the government's plans and programmes. With the special skills and experience that a senior politician of a district possesses, this task would logically be better performed by him than by the career administrator. However, recent experience is not all that conclusive about the Political Authority fulfilling this expectation. In addition to the demands on his time arising from his executive functions at the centre, the local politician's most intimate experiences are with his own electorate, and it would require an extraordinary effort for him to be concerned with the needs of a district covering several constituencies. It is one of the requirements of the modern day administrator that he appreciates these socio-political relationships and works with the Political Authorities towards the common goal of development. As for the technical or scientific personnel in the field, they constitute the basic tools in the administrator's kit bag. They have to be worked into the team which is built round the administrator to carry through the District Plan and it requires much tact and management to mould this together.

The successful administrator must obtain recognition from the technical personnel in the field that he is the leader of the team and win from personnel who are already members of departments which go vertically up and down from the centre to the village, a special type of district loyalty. Technical personnel must, in short, come to him for the solution of their local problems across the table, rather than have to put them up to Colombo. This, as it would readily be admitted, is a task of some difficulty. In addition to various personal characteristics common to other leadership positions, which need not be discussed in any detail here, the acceptance of the administrator by the technical man depends to a considerable extent on his capacity to keep abreast of the findings and knowledge in that particular field. The administrator must for that matter know something of everything. In irrigation he must perforce know of reservoir capacities, of cusecs of discharge, of masonry spills and circular sluices. Out in the field with the district agricultural extension officer he should be able to identify the new paddy strains from the traditional varieties, talk knowledgeably to the farmers about the need for the use of top dressing fertilizer and show some familiarity with the efficacy of specific pesticides.

In short the administrator must know something about the subject of the technician, but not all of it, and it would be fatal for co-operation if he ever gave the impression that he knew more than the specialist.

One of the chief tasks of the administrator at district level is to weld together the team of officials responsible for the agricultural programme and a close look at the structure and functioning of this team is needed here. The district team gets legal sanction from the Irrigation Ordinance of 1946 which provides for the constitution of the district agricultural committee. This body composed of both officials and non-officials appointed by the minister, and representative of the producers of major crops cultivated in the area, may be regarded as the apex organisation in the district charged with the duty of advising the government agent on all matters affecting irrigation and paddy cultivation within the district, and on all other matters relating to agriculture. Members of Parliament too, serve on this committee, under the chairmanship of the Government Agent and it is expected to meet at least once every three months. The annual district implementation programme needs its sanction.

In recent times the effective co-ordinating function has been taken over by the official sub-committee of the district agricultural committee. This is a smaller group consisting only of officials such as the local departmental heads involved in the agricultural process and the divisional revenue officers.[1] This group meets monthly and undertakes a review of progress on the district plan. This attempt at progress control has led to very salutary results as shortfalls and constraints are identified during the course of the season so that effective remedial action can be taken in time. It also promotes group interest and enthusiasm as the performance of each sector viz the seed paddy multiplication programme, the spread of new varieties, fertilizer usage, the supply of credit through the Co-operatives and the Paddy Marketing Board's procurement programme, are all discussed collectively over the table.

Officials of one department, eg co-operative personnel, are encouraged to show interest in say the seed multiplication programme, not only in their own speciality. Through this, a lively discussion is engendered and not only do the team members become aware of other people's problems but they also become more appreciative of the value of their speciality to the success of the total undertaking.

A further trouble shooting 'Inner Cabinet' has also been set up recently consisting of no more than 5 or 6 officials, viz the Superintending Engineer (Territorial Civil Engineering Organization); the Assistant Commissioner of Co-operative Development; the Assistant Commissioner of Agrarian Services; the Regional Manager, Paddy Marketing Board and the Manager, People's Bank who meet fortnightly to solve immediate problems as they arise, or if a solution at district level is not possible, to put the problem to the centre either by radio or telephone.

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[1] The Divisional Revenue Officers (presently termed Asst. Government Agents) are in charge if Divisions within the District. An average District would have from 10 to 15 Divisions.

Of course, in addition to these meetings, completely *ad hoc* discussions between key officials can take place as often as necessary either at *ad hoc* meetings or by telephone and complete freedom is given to these officials to get together in these ways whenever they raise a problem to discuss.

The 'bible' of the district team is the current season's Implementation Programme. It is from the district implementation programmes that the National Plan is built up and some description of how the Plan is formulated may be of interest here. Around June of each year the building up of the Plan for the next planting seasons gets under way. A small group of officials consisting of the divisional revenue officer as head and including the agricultural instructor, the divisional officer, agrarian services, the co-operative inspector, the technical officer irrigation department and the statistical investigator (all divisional level officers) have a series of meetings with members of the cultivation committees in the divisional revenue officer's divisions regarding their (the farmers) expectations of the acreage and varieties they intend sowing in the next two seasons. Since the farmers consider these meetings as an opportunity for ventilating grievances over the last or current season, full freedom is given to them to 'digress' to these matters as well and notice is taken of all such complaints.

In an encounter of this kind between farmers and officials there is always the danger that the powerful and more radical farmers will make their voices and pressures felt and accepted, to the detriment of the younger and smaller farmers. The risk is heightened by the well-known tendency of officials at the local (divisional) level to be on good terms with the bigger farmers, and in some instances, even to have a vested interest in the land concerned either directly or through agents. The process of election by which the members of the cultivation committee itself were chosen, sometimes led to the bigger farmers being over represented in the committee even though specific statutory provision was made for representation of share croppers and labourers. Recent reforms in the law relating to cultivation committees provide for the appointment of the committee members by the Minister of Agriculture in consultation with the local Member of Parliament, and although these committees may not necessarily ensure an ideal representation of interest, the younger and less well-to-do elements in the farming population now stand a better chance of holding office.

At such meetings, agreement is sought after debate, as to the acreages which each cultivation committee expects to sow in the coming season, presuming of course that other factors such as rainfall, irrigation supplies, availability of tractors, etc, remain constant. Each divisional revenue officer in this manner prepares his divisional plan and passes it up to the *Kachcheri*[1] where it is then put into shape. At about this time an Indicative Plan – indicating probable targets which the Ministry of Agriculture considers feasible (usually somewhat optimistic) arrives, and the official sub-committee of the district agricultural committee tries to match its own draft plan with the Indicative Plan. The next stage is a 'debate' between

[1]The District Secretariat.

a Ministry of Agriculture team of experts and the district sub-committee, on the whys and the wherefores of the district's inability to accept the Ministry's target figures. This is a most interesting exchange, spiced by many heated arguments and cups of tea – one such meeting at *Amparai*[1] took from 9 am to 8.30 pm – usually ends with a compromise position being taken.

The plan is now ready for printing and is distributed to as wide an audience as possible in the district. The achievement of the targets set out in the plan then becomes the main objective of the officials during the next few months.

Naturally an unending succession of problems crop up, many very small and affecting only a few acres or a few persons but in the aggregate capable of upsetting the plan. The particular need of the hour will differ depending on the stage of cultivation and on the specific farming area. At the beginning of the cultivation season it may be a problem of tractor spares, seed paddy or credit, while at the end of the season the problems may be those of threshing, transport, storage, movement from farm to market point (the co-operative or village level paddy store) and the lack of liquidity of the co-operatives. The problem can be confounded if there is staggered cultivation, where within the same yaya or tract of fields the crop may be at different stages of growth – making for several demands which need settlement, many of them contradictory in their effects, for eg some farmers wanting water down the channel, others not; some wanting to let down their fences since cultivation is over and others who are late starters fearful that the entry of cattle will affect their standing crop.

These problems underline the need for the *administrator*. Since agriculture especially paddy cultivation is a highly-communal operation and can rarely be engaged in isolation there is a complex web of relationships with other farmers all of which must mesh together for a successful cultivation season. In the old days village society produced its leaders who could exert their authority and enforce the discipline that communal cultivation, sharing of water equitably, clearing of channels, common fencing and watching, entailed. The 'vel vidane' – originally elected, later in British times, appointed from among the leading villagers by the Government Agent, was the 'field administrator' who settled these numerous disputes which arose, the cumulative adverse effect of which on production could have been considerable.

Sometimes these disputes become serious enough, given the expansion in scope of operations, for them to become a major constraint on production, and their settlement an urgent matter for the administrator's attention. Take for example the conflict of interests which arise in the Yala[2] of the Gal Oya Valley[3] between old cultivators who drew water direct from the river from anicuts and sand dams,

[1]A heavy rice producing Dry Zone District.

[2]The second season or Dry Season (April-August) when irrigation is of paramount importance.

[3]A multi-purpose river valley Project in Eastern Sri Lanka commissioned in 1951.

and the new colonists who depend for their water on the reservoir which has been constructed by damming the self same river. Water issues to the new colonies and the riparian rights of the old (*purana*) lands run counter to each other and the delicate balancing of the rival interests, and dealing with the pressure groups that arise, is grist to the mill of the administrator. These examples of course can be endlessly elaborated.

The attempt has been made here to bring out two aspects of the administrator's role which seem relevant to this discussion. Firstly, the administrator as *co-ordinator* of the work of technically qualified personnel, and secondly, as an official with a function which technically competent persons by training and experience could not perform, ie the purely organizational and management aspect.

In his role as co-ordinator, through his chairmanship of the district agricultural committee and the fact that he has been vested with some authority over the local departments by being delegated a deputy head of department the Government Agent can effectively supervise and get the co-operation of all officials in the local network.

The Government Agent is *deputy* commissioner of agrarian services in the district and so he has authority over the *assistant* commissioner who earlier handled minor irrigation works and paddy purchases, and now controls fertilizer issues, crop insurance and problems of tenure under the Paddy Lands Act. The Government Agent is considered a deputy in the territorial civil engineering organisation though this has not been given formal status, and he can intervene and get action moving in that organisation. He is deputy land commissioner and all problems of land etc, administration/development of Crown land, eviction from reserved Crown land, etc, can be settled by him. He is now chairman of the Land Reform Authority and the settlement and utilization of land coming under the purview of the Land Reform Commission within the district is with him.

It is submitted that the vesting of formal authority was an important precondition for the successful intervention of the Government Agent in the total field of operations. Bureaucracy and departmental red tape can often cause obstruction and the blank cheque of authority which the Deputy status implies makes it easy to get orders or 'advice' accepted whereas without such authority the intervention would have been resented. In the case of the Paddy Marketing Board and People's Bank which are Public Corporations there is no formal investiture or rank but the local managers come to accept the authority of the Government Agent since he has the ability to move, either by telephone or by letter, the relevant authorities in Colombo.

Of course, co-operation, particularly of the enthusiastic variety, is not obtained purely through a formal delegation of authority, and a whole gamut of personal and social characteristics, like the ability to communicate down the official line and with the farmer, sympathetic concern with the problems of the officials and so on is needed for moulding together a successful working team.

Instances are, however, not unknown, of conflicts developing between the team which revolves round the chief administrator and the Political Authority. There is a very real possibility that the efforts which the administrative team is making may be midunderstood as an attempt to extend one's areas of influence with a view to seeking future political office. The effect of such a conflict or even the suspicion of a contest of this nature could be disastrous to the development programme and the administrator has perforce to make a special attempt to clear himself from this charge. There is also the added problem which could arise in some situations, wherein the more traditional sort of administrator who reflects more faithfully the authority image of a political head, may be preferred to the more innovative type of younger official.

Those in positions of authority generally prefer persons who do not rock the boat. But farmers although more respectful to the patriarchal type of official, seem more relaxed and out-spoken with the second type.

What are the specific aspects of the 'changing agrarian situation' and the role of the administrator as this evolves? As far as Sri Lanka is concerned perhaps it would be correct to describe the main elements of the recent changes as institutional rather than technical, as an attempt to change traditional agrarian institutions and structures rather than a single-minded preoccupation with purely technical inputs.

The decade of the 60's may fairly be described as one in which technical inputs took pride of place in the agricultural programme. The chief emphasis was on the provision of facilities to the farmer in the way of easier credit terms, improving irrigation structures, making available tractors and spares, fertilizer, pesticides and most important of all, the introduction of the high yielding seed varieties and the improved management practices that went with them. This was the package of inputs which gave rise to what has been described with varying degrees of realism as the Green Revolution. A particularly noteworthy feature of the present agrarian situation – the decade of the 70's is the emphasis and concern with changes in the Institutions which are involved with agricultural development. Of course, this goes on side by side with the improvement of the technical aspects of production, but particularly as compared with the past when the emphasis was mainly on the technical aspects leaving the traditional institutions virtually untouched, the change in emphasis in recent times is significant and relevant.

What are the chief areas of the changes in institutions which make up this changing agrarian situation? In this writer's view, they consist of (a) change in the traditional relationships between owners and tenants of agricultural land; (b) a change in relationships between farmers themselves and (c) a change in the relationships between farmers and state authorities.

These three facets of change could be said to be embodied in three legislative enactments: the Paddy Lands Act of 1958, the Land Reform Law of 1972 and the Agricultural Productivity Law of 1972. To appreciate the nature of the change in

the agrarian situation and the role of the administrator, in it, an examination in some detail of these Acts is called for.

The first break in the traditional relationships that had existed for generations between landlords and tenants was made by the Paddy Lands Act of 1958. This Act provided security of tenure to former share-croppers and made it virtually impossible in law for the share-cropper to be evicted by the landlord. It also determined the rent that had to be paid by the tenant and in general reduced this from approximately half to a quarter of the crop. There is no doubt that this important reform greatly helped to increase production in those areas where landlordism had prevailed and had discouraged individual effort by unprotected tenants.

There were however loopholes in the law and evasion took various forms. In certain districts, notably Batticaloa and the coastal areas of Amparai, where the traditional *poddiar*[1] system was prevalent, the owner-cultivator continued to farm his 100 or more acres of paddy land with agricultural labourers who were in fact disguised share-croppers. In other areas large scale eviction occurred as the 5000 odd cases awaiting disposal by the Appeal Boards testify. Nevertheless the change in relationships become a fact of rural life and in areas where supporting services like credit and extension were readily available, the enfranchised tenants did well. The Land Reform Law of 1972, by the imposition of a ceiling on ownership of paddy land of 25 acres will, it is hoped, remedy the situation where a so-called owner/cultivator could hold over a 100 acres of paddy land. However, although ownership was limited by a ceiling, use of land is not, and hence it would be possible for a single person to still control and manage an extent of land much larger than that which he could own. This is where the third of the laws, the Agricultural Productivity Act could be invoked to bring about desired improvements in productivity on the land in question.

The second of the major institutional changes were those in the relationships between farmers themselves. At the outset it must be stated that these relationships have been changing in quality and intensity since the introduction of a cash economy and the disintegration of the traditional basis of village life, but recent institutional changes can be said to have introduced a new dimension. Historically the direction of these changes could be seen as a movement from a position of voluntary controls – (the traditional village controls through the vel vidane) which ensured the collective use of water, communal fencing, adherence to the dates of cultivation and so on, to the breaking up of these informal and formal social controls. This stage was characterised by rampant individualism leading to illicit tapping of water, staggered cultivation, etc. As a result of this laissez-faire period the communal nature of paddy cultivation and the necessity for organisation and the reimposition of controls,

[1]A system of land tenure peculiar to the Eastern Province Tamils. The owner is an absentee landlord, usually a retired Government officer who makes weekly visits to the farm. The farm is run by a resident manager, paid in kind.

in the cycle of cultivation operations, all become clearly recognized. The institution of the Cultivation Committee set up by the Paddy Lands Act of 1958 had broadly these objectives.

Each yaya or tract of paddy land (500-600 acres in extent in some districts and consisting of 75 to 100 farmers bound together usually by their common interest in a common source of irrigation) would have its cultivation committee consisting of 12 elected members 9 of them elected from among owner cultivators, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers and 3 from non-cultivating owners. Divisional level officers like the divisional officer, agrarian services, agricultural instructors of the agricultural department and co-operative inspectors of the Co-operative department were by virtue of office made non-voting members of the cultivation committee. The committee was generally charged with the responsibility for improving and developing cultivation of the paddy land in its area and given power to levy a charge on cultivators (Rs. 6.00 per acre per year) to carry out its functions. It is no secret that the majority of cultivation committees have failed to live up to what was expected of them for a variety of reasons, and it has been a disquieting experience to find groups of farmers requesting the writer to re-impose 'direct rule', on the grounds that the democratically elected committee was incapable of carrying out its responsibilities. Partly as a response to this situation a major change has been made in the manner in which cultivation committees are now constituted.

This was brought about by the Agricultural Lands Law 1973 which repealed the earlier Paddy Lands Act and which provides for the appointment by the Minister of not more than 10 persons with interests in agriculture as members of the cultivation committee. In addition to the replacement of elected personnel by nominees, a further important change was that the cultivation committee was now empowered with responsibility for all agricultural lands and not only paddy lands. It was expected that the newly-constituted committee at the village level would therefore be more responsive to the policies of government and take interest in the production of subsidiary food crops in addition to paddy. The change, however, has not proved to be an unmixed blessing. Already there are instances where the members of cultivation committees have openly expressed opposition to the premia rates chargeable to farmers under the crop insurance scheme. Under the Crop Insurance Law which makes it mandatory for paddy farmers to insure their crops, the premium rate is determined on the basis of the area of authority of the agricultural productivity committee. There could be several cultivation committees within the area of authority whose lands would face a differential risk. This has led to objection from some cultivation committees who feel that the premium has been unfairly calculated as far as their fields are concerned. Remedial action is at present being taken on this matter and the premium rates adjusted. But the point that is specifically made here is that the appointed members of the cultivation committee are those who have spearheaded the opposition to the policy line. In fact, appointed persons could do with impunity what elected persons may be fearful to do lest the strong hand of the law might descend on them as a consequence. So appointment *per se* seems to be no guarantee that appointees will routinely carry out every direction of the state authorities. This leads to an interesting

situation in which the administrator at the district level is forced to use persuasion more and less the coercion permitted by law, in getting his work done.

The third of the major changes for examination is that in the relationship between farmers and State authorities. The instrument of this change is the Agricultural Productivity Law and it indicates a movement away from the laissez faire attitudes towards agriculture to one in which the State assumes responsibility for, and has the power to, control the use of land. This marks, one could say, a fundamental shift in the relationships between farmers and the bureaucracy and enhances the importance of the administrator's job.

The Agricultural Productivity Law makes it the duty of the owner or occupier of any agricultural land to farm such land in accordance with the rules of good management, and at the level of productivity prescribed by the authorities. The use of land, its productivity, the maintenance of efficient standards of production, cease to be matters exclusively the concern of the individual owner or occupier of the land. In short, while in the past the use of land by the owner could be said to have been primarily governed by consideration of market forces the Productivity Law makes it incumbent on the user of land to maximize his productivity of it in accordance with the norms of production which may be set for it. Indeed non-conformance with the norm of production would be an offence which might result in the loss of the owner's right to use the land. The Agricultural Productivity Law provides that whenever the Minister of Agriculture is satisfied that the land is not being farmed in the manner it should be, that is, at the level considered optimum, or with the types of crops considered necessary, and no acceptable explanation is proferred by the owner for non-compliance, the land may be placed under 'supervision' for a period of 12 months. If no satisfactory improvement is shown during this period an order of dispossession could be made which would have the effect of vesting the land in the State if it is privately owned, or of it being leased to a suitable farmer for his use. The minister's order would naturally be based on the recommendation of the local agricultural productivity committee and the advise of district level administrative staff.

This power would be invoked only in extraordinary circumstances. Indeed the law has been in force now for over two years, there has not been a single instance of recourse being made to it, although records are not available as to the number of occasions on which agricultural productivity committees have recommended such action. However, the fact that almost similar provisions were available in the Paddy Lands Act of 1958, but had never been invoked, leads one to the conclusion that such provisions will rarely, if ever, be utilized. Particularly since the recommendation for 'take-over' must come from village level and the farmers against whom the law is to be invoked will be neighbours and friends, very often, of the members of the agricultural productivity committee, the chances are remote that this particular section will be used. It is more likely that the provisions will remain as a threat to persuade recalcitrant farmers to toe the line.

The agricultural productivity committee which came into being under the Productivity Law merits consideration. This is a new institution in the rural sector

and its creation could be said to have introduced a new dynamic into the agrarian situation. Each committee will cover the area of a village council local authority and will consist of 10 persons appointed by the minister who appear to him to represent the interests of those engaged locally in agriculture. The committee can hold office for three years and is 'charged with the duty of production, co-ordination and development of agriculture and of assisting in the formulation of implementation programmes and targets for the production of crops and livestock within the area of its authority'. The agricultural productivity committee will be at a level higher than the cultivation committee, which is really the village level institution. However, there is no inherent link between these two bodies. It is not on a two-tiered system and both committees are independently appointed.

There are two aspects here which are worthy of examination. With the creation of the agricultural productivity committee and the vesting in it of the duty of formulating the implementation programme, the role of the bureaucracy which earlier performed this same function has needed redefining.

Initially there was a feeling that the divisional level administrators would thereby withdraw from the area of programme formulation. However, the agricultural productivity committee chairmen, particularly, have shown great eagerness in co-operating with local officials even though as a matter of right they have direct access to the Minister. Moreover the fact that the agricultural productivity committee members do not receive remuneration and do not have paid staff of their own makes it necessary for them to depend heavily on local officials. In fact, the Agricultural Service Centre which houses the productivity committee and has become a distinctive symbol in the countryside, has been built on a plan which could accommodate all divisional level officers. The intention was to make it possible for a farmer to obtain most of his supplies and bring up his problems for solution at one place, and where in one location he could meet a number of officials. At the Agricultural Service Centre he can, or should, be able to meet the agricultural productivity committee chairmen, the agricultural instructor, the manager of the local bank, the divisional officer in charge of rural institutions and even the assistant to the veterinary surgeon.

The rationale behind the institution of the agricultural productivity committee was the need for farmers' wants to be expressed and met by the representatives of farmers themselves. This line of reasoning has been often explicitly stated by Political Authorities who have quite validly doubted the commitment and motivation of Government officials – administrators and technical personnel alike – towards the problems which are, in fact, faced by the farmer. Tension and differences of opinion do arise between the three authorities referred to above, namely the officials at divisional level, the agricultural productivity committee members and the cultivation committee members and it has become very much the task of the district administrator to sort things out so that the common objective may be achieved.

An Agricultural Tribunal with powers to determine any dispute referred to it

by either the minister or the agricultural productivity committee in relation to the management or farming of any agricultural land has also been constituted in each constituency under the Agricultural Productivity Law. The tribunal has the powers of a district court and can summon witnesses, compel production of documents, and administer oaths. This has been an extremely desirable innovation, for a major impediment in resolving farm disputes – which are by their very nature counter-productive – has been the lack of a speedy and effective mechanism for making and enforcing decisions in relation to such disputes. In the past, these problems were dealt with at two levels. By the wealthier farmers through recourse to the courts and by the less well-to-do by appeals to officialdom. District Court procedures were invariably long drawn out and only the rich farmers could afford the time and expense involved. The great majority would take the cheaper alternative of writing petitions to various officials up the line and hoping for a sympathetic and favourable consideration of their case. With the tribunal, which works in an informal manner with much less cumbersome procedures than in the normal courts, it is expected that these intractable boundary problems, the illicit tapping of water, the breaking of the irrigation rules and so on which have been the bane of the official trying to get on with the job of production can now hopefully be quickly resolved. Perhaps the social disciplines so lacking in rural life since the disintegration of the traditional village controls can be introduced through this new institution.

The Agricultural Productivity Law also provides for the establishment of agricultural co-operative societies which can perform the functions of obtaining agricultural advances, supplying the farmers with seeds, fertilizer, machinery, etc, selling the produce of members and organizing the farming of the land.

One of the shortcomings of the present Co-operative Movement – the multipurpose co-operative – as far as the agricultural producer is concerned, is that the main interest and concern of the Co-operative today is the provision of the consumer needs of the people.

Both by its history and by the inclination of the personnel who man the Co-operatives, the business of buying and selling has taken precedence over developmental activities like the provision of credit to farmers and the stocking of slow moving and 'offensive' items like fertilizer and agrochemicals. The creation of a new type of co-operative concerned with the needs exclusively of agricultural producers is, therefore, particularly opportune.

It is submitted that in the light of the new institutional changes brought about by the Laws described above, the task of the administrator, albeit changed in function, remains highly responsible. It is finally he who will have to recommend achievable norms of production and take action if and when they are not fulfilled. It will be his primary responsibility to see that the necessary conditions, that is the agro-support facilities like water, production credit, good seed, farm equipment, agrochemical and fertilizer are available to the farmer in sufficient quantity, at reasonable prices and most important of all, in time. A failure on the part of the administrator

to fulfil his obligations will, in view of the new conditions, bring not only great distress to the farmer through the loss of his crop or a much reduced harvest (which even now he bears with resignation) but will also have an added penalty in that the law would now come down on him for his failure to fulfil his targets. There is an obvious presumption here that the State will not fail in its part of the contract, namely that of ensuring that the infra-structural and other inputs are made available to the farmer. The duty here is cast fully and squarely on the administrator. It is to this challenging task that the modern district administrator has to devote his day.

An Australian Experiment in Tertiary Level Education in Development Administration

A. R. HOYLE*

Introduction

Unlike Britain, Australia is an isolated, wealthy country of European culture which is largely surrounded by developing countries – some of them very large and others in the category of micro-states. Australia, with a population of 14 million people is only a small power but it is important in the context of the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean. This makes it all the more surprising that, until recently, no attempt was made in Australia to teach development administration or indeed to study it in any depth.

To a large degree this neglect was probably due to the traditional focus in Australian education and politics on relations with the developed countries of Europe and North America with which it has been linked by blood, culture, trade and friendship for nearly two hundred years. Over the past decade however such events as the entry of Britain into the European Community, the withdrawal of the United States from Asia and a major revision of trade patterns, have brought home to Australians the need to try to understand the diverse peoples and countries of the Indo-Pacific region.

One manifestation of this is the development at the Canberra College of Advanced Education of an undergraduate course in Development Administration – a course which is unique in Australia.

The College was set up some nine years ago as a full degree granting tertiary institution which was expected to provide a vocational orientation to tertiary level studies with the emphasis more on teaching than on research. It was seen as being complementary to the Australian National University which is situated about two miles away. In practice this concept has not been fulfilled and the College is steadily developing more and more academically oriented programmes with increasing emphasis on research and publication. It is however the only institution in Canberra – and the main one in the country – which emphasises administrative studies. The College has presently some 5,000 students in a variety of Schools

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ranging from Administrative Studies to Environmental Design and Liberal Studies.

The creation of the Development Administration course was due to the appointment in 1968, as Principal of the College, of Dr S. S. Richardson whose previous appointment had been as Vice Chancellor of the University of Mauritius but who had previously served in the Sudan and as Principal of the Institute of Administration at Zaria in Nigeria. In 1968 the College was a brand new institution which was intended, inter alia, to provide degree courses in administration and, as a newcomer to Australia, Dr Richardson saw the relevance to Australian students, particularly in the administrative capital of the country, of a course of study in development administration. In creating the course he was assisted by the recruitment to the staff of the College of a senior lecturer with interest in administration in Papua New Guinea and experience of colonial government at central government level.

Despite the interest of the Principal and the availability of a staff member it was some time before circumstances allowed the first course to be mounted. The first course was finally launched in the second semester of 1972 and since then it has been given five times. This period is long enough to permit some assessment of where the course has gone and what needs have been met and to allow informed discussion of what its future might be.

Originally conceived as a one semester elective unit[1] in an undergraduate degree course in administration where most of the students are, or will be, employees of the Commonwealth Government, the objective has been very limited and can be described as being concerned with:

> '. . . the processes and problems of administration in developing countries and requires the student to stand 'outside' his familiar cultural and administrative environment . . . the unit seeks, through the use of a systems framework, to give an understanding of the work of administrators in developing countries . . .'[2]

In essence it does not seek to examine the subject in depth but instead to give an overview of a very wide field so that future, proposed units which will make in depth studies of various aspects will have a firm base on which to build.

Course Inputs

The success of the course to date, has been partly due to its deliberately limited objectives, but also partly to an understanding of the likely knowledge assessed by the students of developing countries, and their understanding of the processes of administration.

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[1]A 'one semester elective unit' means a unit within the College which provides a one semester option. (A semester is a half-year unit, normally of 16 weeks' duration, plus exam) ie. students can elect to do it or other options, which include Public Finance and a unit on local government.

[2]Course description in College handbook.

Because of the nature of Canberra, it is rare to have students who are not employed or who do not expect to be employed in the bureaucracy. While, therefore, most courses have contained at least one student from a developing country in the Pacific or Asia,[1] the other students are generally Australian serving middle-level government officers, with an average age of 30, some of whom are graduates, but very few of whom have travelled outside Australia, apart from tourist visits to Fiji or Singapore, so that their knowledge of the Indo-Pacific region, let alone the rest of the developing world, is very slight. On the other hand, because they have both an average of some 12 years experience of working in government, and have already completed at least four units of the degree course in administration before commencing Development Administration, many of the concepts and mechanics of administration can be taken, by the lecturer, as being already understood.

Public servants attending the course do not come from any particular ministry, but from a wide spectrum, ranging from Treasury to the Industries Assistance Commission. It is only recently that we have had the first students who have taken development administration, posted by ADAA (Australian Development Assistance Agency – the analogue of ODM) as aide attachés in developing countries.

One of the more surprising difficulties met – in view of the fact that all students have matriculated and some are already graduates – is the almost universal ignorance of political and economic geography. Less surprising is the general lack of knowledge of the major political, economic and social changes which are going on in developing countries. The local newspaper, *The Canberra Times*, is far from being a usual provincial newspaper, has a good coverage of world events and quite often features articles on special problems of development. Until they commence the course, most students apparently only rarely read articles or news about the developing world and a number apparently do not read a newspaper at all, relying entirely upon radio and television for their knowledge of world and local events.

The one input which all students do possess, however, is a desire to undertake the unit. As the course is an elective and competes with units on federalism, public finance, administrative law and public corporations, there is no compulsion and students, right from the beginning, are positively motivated. As any academic or teacher knows, the likely success of a course is greatly enhanced when the students have a positive motivation.

Course Content

The decision to impose a systems framework upon the course and the desire to present students with an overview of development administration, has resulted in a course programme which seeks to place the main elements of development administration within a conceptual framework which is adequate for understanding its

[1] Normally in the public service of his country, and usually an administrator.

holism. Administration at the College is taught within a systems framework and students in upper level units look for it. The 14-week programme is made up of tutorials and seminars which are linked in each weekly programme, as shown:

	Tutorial Programme	*Seminar Programme*
1.	The problems of development	Why be interested in development administration?
2.	The political environment	Modernization by revolution
3.	The social environment	Social change in developing societies – the case of the South Pacific
4.	The economic environment	Economic development or economic survival?
5.	Views of development	The second U.N. Development Decade.
6.	National goals and national planning	National planning – necessity or futility?
7.	The inputs of development (a) human inputs	Manpower planning and development
8.	The inputs of development (b) physical resources	Physical resources in a finite world
9.	The inputs of development (c) values	Value change in transitional societies
10.	Administration in a developing country	Administration in a developing country – homogeneity and heterogeneity
11.	The civil service in a developing country (a) training and education	A systems view of administrative education for developing countries
12.	(b) administrative reform	Public enterprise and administrative corruption
13.	(c) public enterprise	The urbanization dilemma
14.	Development Aid and the future of the Third World	Aid in public administration – an exercise in futility?

An informed observer will note the absence of a large number of key issues such as regional and local government, the place of science and technology and temporal aspects of development and the short-comings of the course in such matters is recognized. Within the time available, however, it has proved impossible to cover a wider field and it is proposed to cover some of these aspects in successor units. The most obvious weakness in content is a specific session on the problems of world population growth but this has been a deliberate omission as the topic is reserved for the major essay which all students complete. In 1976 it takes the form of a discussion of the statement:

'The greatest single constraint on development to-day is the unchecked rate

of population growth and the key task of the senior administrator is the promotion and enforcement of changes in social attitudes designed to induce people to seek a level of zero population growth'.

Teaching Methods

The inadequacies of the lecture method of teaching are well known and it was decided right from the beginning that alternative methods would be used. This decision, made on pedagogical grounds, was reinforced by the impossibility of finding an adequate text book which would cover such a wide field.

There have been a number of variations in methods but it now seems likely that these will stabilise with a four-hour weekly programme which is arranged as follows:

Session 1(2 hours) – 30 minute film
– 60 minute tutorial discussion led by one student
– 30 minute talk by lecturer on subject and key issues in development which have emerged in the last week

Session 2(2 hours) – 90 minute seminar by student
– 30 minute summing up by lecturer

The main themes which we attempt to illustrate by the use of audio-visual material are population increase, food problems, rural development, modernisation and a general picture of life in developing countries. The last is particularly important because most of the students have had a very limited experience overseas. A selection amongst the films which we showed last semester was 'Mounting Millions' (about population problems in India), 'Not Enough' (an OECD film about food shortage and general development problems), 'No Bras to Burn' (a film about modernisation in Papua New Guinea) 'Samoa I Sisifo' (a film on culture clash in Western Samoa).

Films are not always available and those that are available do not always tie in with the weekly tutorial session but every effort is made to secure them because they have a very important role in conveying to students a feeling for the life of people in the Third World and giving them an anchor to which to tie some of the discussion which follows. Films are expensive and, for this purpose, age quickly, so as few films as possible are bought and great reliance is placed on major film collections. In this case the College is fortunate in having access to a very large collection nearby at the National Library but there is often difficulty in getting the right film just when it is required. Recently some slide sets have become available quite cheaply and these may be of even more use as they can be purchased, and shown just when required and the commentary can easily be adapted. What is important with both films and slide sets is that they should be up to date. For full student acceptance they also need to be in colour.

Another source of visual material is television which, in Australia, often shows quite high-quality documentary material made both locally and overseas. All students have access to television but not all to colour television and so use is

made of colour video recording of such documentary television items as 'Five Minutes to Midnight' for subsequent use.

Because text books suitable for the course do not exist, up to 1976 recourse was had to photocopying recent periodical and newspaper articles and supplying these in a folder to each student. Because the subject matter is constantly changing the material also changed frequently and there were few problems of relevancy. The recent enforcement of the provisions of the Copyright Convertion has now unfortunately changed this situation and it appears that the only solution will be for a book of readings to be prepared and for more use to be made of paperback editions of books on such issues as population, the environment and intermediate technology. Their limited value to the course and their very high cost in Australia makes the use of seminal books, such as F. W. Riggs Administration in Developing Countries, not a viable proposition for student purchase.

The only really up-to-date written material on development administration is usually to be found in newspapers and journals with high-frequency publication and an important part of each week's work is a short discussion of articles and news in the press relating to development issues. The lecturer uses the subject matter to reinforce the material being taught, to improve the awareness of the political, social and economic environment and to provoke a discussion of likely developments. Over a period of a few weeks this results in a very marked increase both in newspaper reading and in awareness of the importance of studying development.

Part of the material which has been handed out to students consists of background material but the core is a series of fourteen papers which relate directly to the topic for consideration in that week. Each student knows, at the beginning of the semester, the tutorial paper for which he is responsible and he has adequate time to prepare it. His task is to lead the group in a discussion of the paper, picking out the main points, criticizing it where he considers appropriate and being responsible for promoting discussion in the tutorial group. The lecturer is responsible for making sure the discussion is relevant and correcting errors of fact. Most students are used to the lecture method and find it difficult at first to handle this method but after a few weeks of exposure to it are generally enthusiastic.

Problems Encountered

Indications to date are that the course has been successful but it has encountered a number of difficulties, some of which are due to the extent of the topic, some to the isolation of teaching a single course and some to the education and orientation of the students.

The first problem is how to cover in reasonable depth a subject of the formidable proportions of development administration. The more practitioners and academics study the subject the more apparent it becomes that an understanding of the role administrators play cannot be achieved without a considerable degree of comprehension of the total environment – physical, political, social, economic and legal – within which they operate. Even with an arbitrary decision to restrict the

area of particular concern to the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean area there are so many countries and so many different types of environment that it is difficult to produce meaningful generalizations and students tend to get lost in the mass of discrete detail. This in term affects their performance in tutorials and seminars as they feel, no matter how hard they work, that they have a quite inadequate grasp of the subject matter details. Critics of the course have quite rightly pointed to important subject areas which are either not dealt with, or dealt with inadequately, but have been unable to suggest how they also could be introduced with the time constraints which operate. An allied difficulty is that, with the heavy stress on the environment of development, the administration element tends to have an ever smaller part of the total time available. It seems probable that the only way to overcome this difficulty is by providing further courses which will be oriented towards administration rather than towards the complex and turbulent environment.

Teaching a single course, substantially different in content from other courses in administration and teaching it in a country where no similar course exists, leads to a feeling of isolation by the lecturer and a not inconsiderable fear that he may be being left behind in both content and approach. To some extent he can keep up to date by reading journals such as the *Journal of Administration Overseas* and more localized publications such as the *Pacific Islands Monthly* and *Pacific Perspective* but experience has shown that there is no real substitute for frequent visits both to countries in the Indo-Pacific region and institutions in Europe and North America where studies in development administration are well established. Visits to countries in the region being studied give an invaluable immediacy to the material offered to students, so increasing their acceptance, while visits to Europe and North America provide both a stimulus and a necessary reassurance. The costs of such travel are very high but experience has shown that there is no substitute.

All students undertaking the course have had a minimum of thirteen years formal education and some have had much more but they are still generally ill-prepared for the course. Not only is their geographical knowledge quite inadequate, but, being in a very large country with a high standard of living and a European culture, such interests as they have in overseas countries are generally focussed on Europe and North America and, being normally without contact with people from the Third World, they have difficulty in comprehending and internalizing the values of the other peoples of the region. Inevitably, in discussion and argument, they seek for technological solutions based on Australian community values and it is not until near the end of the course that most begin to comprehend the inutility of this approach.

A Wider Approach to Development Studies

The Canberra College of Advanced Education has been fortunate in recruiting a number of academic staff who have personal experience in a variety of developing countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific and who now give courses in development economics and political development. An increasing number of students is now

becoming aware of the importance of development studies and the holistic nature of their content and are electing to do a triad of development administration, development economics and political development, sometimes sequentially but more often doing two together. Fortunately all staff members have a common approach and students are often surprised at how one course reinforces another. Steps are currently being taken, in association with the reaccreditation of the degree course to provide for a development specialization within the overall administration course. This, in turn, will be the pre-requisite for a proposed post-graduate degree with provision for a specialization in development studies.

Evaluation of the Course

Some formal work on evaluation has been done with other undergraduate courses in administration at the College but until now this has not been attempted with the unit in development administration, mainly because it is only now that the content and method of presentation have been stabilized. A high priority now is a formal evaluation which will be based on students' expectations before they commence the course, their views of it immediately after completion and again after a further twelve months.

Meanwhile, perhaps the best indication of what students think of the course is the fact that both absolute and relative members of students undetaking it continue to rise each year until now some 35% of students taking a degree course in administration opt for it and it is now attracting students from other disciplines. A further indication is the change in reading habits of many students and the frequency with which they bring to the attention of the lecturer material in journals and newspapers which he has not see. At the end of each course many students have approached the lecturer to say how much they have learned and how they have been stimulated. But, they often add, 'It gives a very depressing view of the future, doesn't it?' This, in fact, points to one of the most difficult problems in the course which is how to come up with positive solutions which administrators might apply with success. Without something positive it is all too easy for a course in development administration to be an exercise in pessimism.

Possible Developments

The Australian National University has recently established, in Canberra, a Development Studies Centre with which the Canberra College of Advanced Education is associated but it is not generally concerned with education. If studies in development administration are to be provided for both undergraduate and post-graduate students in Australia the responsibility is likely to fall entirely on the College. At present, we are running one course per annum. The average number of students on each course is 40 to 45. Next year, we are hopeful of developing a second unit, which will deal more specifically with population problems, rural development, and local government, and will focus on India and the South Pacific as problem areas at opposite ends of the population continuum.

In either 1978 or 1979 it is hoped that there will be enough students with an under-graduate specialization in development studies to allow of the first post-graduate

unit being offered. It is expected that this will be concerned with the changing aspects of administration and differing governmental responses to the rapidly changing environments of the countries of South East Asia and the South Pacific.

The Development Administration Course - An Assessment

After such a comparatively short time it is difficult to make any sort of definitive assessment of the value of the course to the students and to the Australian community generally. However there seems little doubt that well over one-hundred mature students have achieved an understanding of the problems of the Third World countries which virtually surround Australia that they would never otherwise have had and that they have been stimulated to keep on reading and listening to media reports on those uncomfortable aspects of population, food scarcity, environmental pollution, etc., which most of them would previously have actively shut out of their minds.

More importantly, perhaps, a significant number of the students are already in, or will shortly be in, policy making areas of the Commonwealth Government and they now have an opportunity to put forward for consideration by their superiors and by their Ministers, an informed systems view of development of which they were previously unaware.

Despite the support of the Principal, development studies were initially regarded with some suspicion by other members of the academic staff concerned with more conventional areas of study such as organization theory, but the student response and the obviously growing importance of the developing countries of the Indo-Pacific region to Australia have now led to their acceptance of this field of study and their support for its progressive development.

Public Involvement in Urban Development Planning: The Case of Environmental Sanitation in Ibadan, Nigeria

ANDREW GODWIN ONOKERHORAYE*

Introduction

Nigeria, like most developing countries, is currently undergoing a process of rapid urbanization. The number of urban centres with at least 20,000 inhabitants rose from 29 in 1921 to 180 in 1963 while the proportion of the total national population concentrated in these centres rose from 7.2 per cent in 1921 to 19.1 per cent in 1963[1] and the pace has since been maintained. One major feature of the urban growth process in Nigeria, as in most other countries in tropical Africa, is the concentration of the urban population in large centres, generally the national and state capitals.[2] The excessive concentration of material and human resources in a few growing urban centres has led to the emergence of a number of physical, social and economic problems in the large cities. These include unemployment; housing shortages; traffic jams; the inadequacy of public utilities such as water, electricity and telecommunications; poor environmental sanitation; and administrative problems.

In recent years, the various federal and state governments in Nigeria have shown increasing concern for the problems associated with urbanisation. Consequently, some urban development programmes have been planned and implemented while others are being proposed. However, they have been formulated without any attempt to involve the people concerned in their planning or in the implementation process. The success and effectiveness of such programmes in Nigeria must in the author's view depend largely on how effectively they involve citizens in their formulation and execution. This is because most of these programmes have immediate impacts on the people resident in the urban areas, making their co-operation essential at every stage of the planning process.[3]

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[1]Mabogunje, A. L., *Cities and Social Order*, Ibadan, University of Ibadan Inaugural Lectures, 1974, pp 3-5.

[2]Onokerhoraye, A. G., 'The Spatial Aspects of Urban Growth in Nigeria: Some Planning Implications for National Development', *Cultures et Developpement*, VIII, 1965, pp 1-16.

[3]For a general discussion of the role of public participation in urban planning in Nigeria, see A. G. Onokerhoraye, 'The Role of Public Participation in the Urban and Regional Development Planning of Nigeria', *African Administrative Studies* (forthcoming).

In this paper attention is focused on the need to involve the public in the environmental sanitation programmes of urban centres in Nigeria, using Ibadan as a case study.

The Main Features of the Urban Environmental Sanitation Problem in Ibadan

Two major types of environmental sanitation problems may be identified in Ibadan.[1] The first is associated with the land use development process of the city. The area concerned covers those parts of the city which were built up during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods. This is generally known as the 'core area' of Ibadan, where uncontrolled building of houses and compounds took place. Apart from a few roads which radiated from the centre to other towns, there were very few streets in the city during the pre-colonial period, and consequently, compound houses were built without any systematic lay out. The socio-economic changes which took place in the city which followed the establishment of British colonial rule in Nigeria worsened the land use pattern of the area. The early compounds have been broken up and replaced by multiple housing units and more buildings have been infused into the already densely crowded and unwholesome environment by a process of fission and fusion.[2]

The most outstanding physical problem associated with this now virtually slum area of the city concerns the pre-dominance of substandard housing. Most of the houses are made of mud or mud brick only some of which are mud or cement plastered in varying degrees of efficiency. Their floors are made of cement or earth while most of the roofs are made of corrugated iron sheeting ranging greatly in quality. In most cases the houses are provided with very limited ventilation, a large proportion lack basic facilities for comfortable human habitation. Many have no inside kitchens so that cooking in such cases is done in any available open space outside. And the kitchens, whenever they exist, are in most cases dirty and poorly maintained.

The second type of environmental sanitation problem in Ibadan relates to solid and liquid wastes disposal in the city. This is common to most of the built-up areas of the city, including the recently developed medium density residential zones. In many parts of Ibadan arrangements for effective collection and hygienic disposal of solid wastes are either rudimentary or virtually non-existent. Even where such arrangements exist, they have had very little impact on the quality of the environ-

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[1]Literature on the physical problems of urban growth in Nigeria is limited but attention is drawn to A. L. Mabogunje, 'Urban Land-use Problems in Nigeria', *Institute of British Geographers Special Publication*, no 1, 1968, pp 203-218; A. G. Onibokun, 'Forces Shaping the Physical Environment of cities in the Developing Countries: The Ibadan Case', *Land Economics*, XLIX, 1973, pp 51-56; F. O. Okediji and O. Aboyade, 'Social and Economic Aspects of Environmental Sanitation in Nigeria: A Tentative Report *The Journal of the Society of Health Nigeria*, II, 1967, pp 1-17; A. G. Onokerhoraye, *Urban Land-Use Problems and Urban Land Policy in Nigeria*, NISER, University of Ibadan, 1976.

[2]Mabogunje, A. L., 'The Growth of Residential Districts in Ibadan', *The Geographical Review*, LII, 1962, pp 56-77.

ment. For example, in parts of the city where refuse depots are provided some of them are public nuisances because leaves, wastepapers and other forms of rubbish are seen littering the neighbourhood. The presence of wandering chickens, goats, geese, cows and dogs adds further to the problem of garbage collection because they prey around the public depots.[1] The situation in those parts of the city where dustbins are not available is, as expected, very bad. Here many families dump their garbage in the nearby streams, open yards and bushes. Some families designate a part of their backyards as refuse depots while others dump various forms of solid waste into the street.

As regards liquid wastes disposal, a large proportion of the houses in the city, especially in the core area described above, have no toilet facilities. Consequently the occupiers of such houses usually dispose of human waste in the nearby bush. Where toilet facilities do exist they are usually the 'pail' system or 'pit' latrines (salga system). The former involves the collection of untreated wastes from individual houses in metal pails which are removed by night soil men to depots where they are buried or simply dumped into a river. The 'salga' system is comprised simply of dry bore-holes into which the untreated waste is deposited. The pit is often covered with a concrete cap, the opening of which is fitted with a wooden cover. They may be located either within a compound or immediately adjacent to a dwelling. They are generally open, but may be enclosed in a small roofed structure.

The salga system is better than the pail, although there are some aspects of the system that have grave consequences in terms of their impact on public hygiene and health. For example, the pits are poorly maintained and their environs are often squalid, unkept, fetid and fly-infested. Furthermore, many of the pits are in unsuitable locations – often too close to the kitchen or the dining areas, with the result that flies can easily contaminate uncovered foodstuffs. There are cases where the salgas are not far away from wells, where water for domestic use is drawn, and here too there is serious danger of contamination.

Existing Measures for Improving Environmental Sanitation in Ibadan

In view of all these environmental sanitation problems facing the city of Ibadan, one may ask what are the existing measures for improving and controlling the physical environment of the city and how effective are they? Land use development control in Ibadan is vested mainly in the hands of the Ibadan Area Planning Authority. The authority which was established in 1958 is responsible for the control of building, rebuilding and other physical developments within the city and its immediate environs. Furthermore, it is empowered to make planning regulations, bye-laws and zoning regulations. In spite of the wide range of functions which the Authority is expected to carry out, it has not been able to do very much to control land use development in the city, especially in the difficult core area previously described. This failure can be explained largely by social, cultural and political factors – the socio-cultural factors include the influence of the traditional

[1] See F. O. Skediji and O. Aboyade, *op cit*, p 13.

extended family, which tends to attract individual members to concentrate within the family's urban compound land. This factor has made it difficult for the planning authority to control the density or the standard of housing within the area which belongs to a particular extended family. While the Authority can approve the building plan and location of a dwelling, it does not have effective control over the actual structure or over the provision of basic sanitary facilities.

The disposal of solid wastes and the city's cleansing service is the responsibility of the Ibadan Waste Disposal Board. This it does by locating public garbage collection depots in specific parts of the city for use by local residents. But these depots are inadequate and some areas, especially the core sector of the city, which has very few accessible streets that can be used by the board's garbage collection lorries do not have any depots at all. This suggests that the Board can act effectively only in those parts of the city where the land use pattern allows the penetration of garbage collection lorries.

In addition to the constraints already mentioned limiting the ability of the Ibadan Area Planning Authority and the Ibadan Waste Disposal Board to operate effectively, there are two major drawbacks in the present measures aimed at improving the situation in Ibadan. The first relates to the poor state of sanitation knowledge among most of the people resident in the city. Apart from the better-educated and high income groups, who coincidentally are also living in those sectors of the city where the environmental sanitation problem is negligible, most of the people living in other parts of the city do not see much connection between the health of their family and the environment in which they live. Although a large number of people in the city do appreciate the importance of personal hygiene to their health; yet the effect of their surroundings on public health is not properly grasped. The ignorance of a large proportion of Ibadan residents concerning the importance of environmental sanitation has remarkable effects on their attitude to waste disposal. For example, as noted earlier, in some parts of the city where the provision of modern disposal facilities is available people continue to dump their refuse and waste in open drains and around their neighbourhood. These habits, which are due mainly to ignorance, can be transformed through carefully designed and fully intensified public health education programmes. The mass media is not used effectively enough as a means of disseminating information and guidance about sanitation. Thus, the use of inspectors to enforce health laws, which the people themselves do not understand can generate bitterness or at best, indifference in the public. Meantime health laws are disregarded in many parts of the city and in consequence the deplorable insanitary conditions already described persist as a constant danger to the people's health.

The second major drawback relates to the failure of the authorities to involve the public in their improvement measures. Public participation as a concept has traditionally been interpreted in a rather restrictive sense, namely, as involving people in an advisory capacity to government, and providing them with information from government. However, while access to information and the opportunity to comment on it is an essential element of participation, the concept really is very

much broader. It means taking an active part throughout the decision-making process, not for participation's sake, but because the decisions taken directly or indirectly affect the conditions and opportunities of community living. In the current measures for improving the situation in Ibadan, the full participation of the people is not invited. The authorities (generally represented by a small number of civil servants) have formulated their policies and attempted to implement them but the gap between the people and the authorities has been further widened since the establishment of military rule in the country, since all forms of civil political activities have been halted. Consequently, local authority leaders who used to be the link between the people, the government and its agencies are now missing from the scene. Although a large proportion of the measures designed to improve environmental sanitation in the city are reasonable, the fact that the people are not involved in the planning process coupled with their ignorance of the advantages of these measures often leads to tension, and attempts to enforce the regulations have been met with hostile reactions. For example, one of the demands made during disturbances in Ibadan in 1969 was for the immediate suspension of development control in the inner core of the city.[1]

Public Involvement in the Environmental Sanitation Programmes of Ibadan

The discussion in the preceding section suggests that considerable improvement can be made to environmental sanitation in Ibadan, if the public is made to participate effectively in the planning and implementation of the programmes of the authorities. Here three strategies are crucial: the first concerns the need to organise a wide and continuous public enlightenment campaign, in which the state government, the city council, governmental agencies, local authorities and interested parties would all participate in such a campaign. The effectiveness of the campaign, however, depends on the instruments used. There should be an intensive use of community leaders, who should be made to inform their followers about government programmes on environmental sanitation. Community meetings should be used for this purpose. The effectiveness of such a strategy is fostered by the existence, within the various sectors of the city particularly the core area and early migrant residential areas, where environmental sanitation problems are more acute, of well organized and coherent community groupings. This suggests that less reliance should be placed on the mass media which have not proved effective instruments for the enlightenment of the people in this particular field.

The second crucial strategy follows on from the first. This is the importance of community self-help programmes. Deriving largely from the failure of the majority of Ibadan residents to recognize their self-interest in the promotion of a high level of environmental sanitation, little community self-help has been carried out with regard to environmental sanitation in the City, apart from occasional clean up campaigns which do very little to alleviate the problem. Properly inspired and organized community self-help can be a potent force in raising public health

[1] Adebisi, B., 'The Politics of Development Control in a Nigerian City: Ibadan', *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, XVI, 1974, pp 311-324.

standards in the city, particularly in the core sector. It is therefore, the duty of the public authorities to reactivate community self-help, to encourage and help organize its activities. Here again the various community groupings based on extended family and ethnic origin, as well as their respective leaders, can be utilized to stimulate community self-help programmes in the city, with the authorities providing overall leadership and co-ordination of the programmes proposed. Unless these authorities themselves are efficient, vigilant and determined, self-help schemes may prove still-born.

Finally, the third strategy is aimed at involving people in the decision-making processes as well as in the implementation of government programmes. Decision-making is a complex process involving an awareness of a need, the formulating of alternative courses of action, adopting a decision, implementing it and monitoring its effect. At each of these stages, the opportunities for participation by citizens can be increased. For instance, it has been suggested that in view of the socio-cultural problems associated with wholesale slum clearance in the urban areas of Nigeria, there should be slum abatement – that is, the removal of conditions which encourage neighbourhood deterioration and decay, rather than the complete demolition of houses. Such a strategy calls for the demolition of selected blocks of residential areas to provide space for roads, playgrounds, and the location of essential community services.

The success of such a strategy in the central part of Ibadan would be facilitated by the involvement of the people resident in these areas in the decision-making process. Initially they should be informed about the need to rehabilitate their residential areas. Then a representative number of community leaders should be invited to co-operate with the authorities concerned on the formulation of alternative strategies for rehabilitating the area. The leaders would then discuss these with their followers so as to get their reaction to the various proposals. In this way the chosen line of action is likely to receive little opposition: for example, the movement of groups of families from their existing residential areas may not be a major problem provided that they are resettled together in another part of the city.

Another area where the involvement of the public in the decision-making process will be important in Ibadan, concerns the disposal of solid wastes particularly household refuse. In those sectors of the city where it is not possible for municipal garbage collection lorries to collect household rubbish, etc., groups of families may be encouraged to locate portable refuse containers, which they can empty daily into the nearest public depot. The members of such groups of families can decide on the specific location as well as the sharing of responsibility for emptying the refuse containers. This system is practicable if the people are encouraged to decide for themselves on how best to improve the system of waste disposal in their neighbourhood.

Conclusion

With specific reference to Ibadan, this paper has attempted to emphasize the

importance of public participation in the improvement of environmental sanitation in the urban centres of Nigeria. The problems posed by the deteriorating conditions of the physical environment in the major cities of Nigeria have been worsened by the ignorance and non-involvement of the people in the authorities' efforts to improve the situation. In a developing country such as Nigeria, where a significant proportion of the urban dwellers are illiterate, it is the duty of the government and its agencies to guide the people so that they can play positive roles in urban development planning. Efforts should be made to see that popular participation is not left for protest groups or the furtherance of personal grievances, but is fully recognized by all the authorities as an essential part of the urban development process.

'In-Basket' Exercises: An Administrative Training Experience

C. LLOYD BROWN-JOHN*

Simulation of real situations as a technique for educational and training purposes has always been implicit in instruction as the very phrase 'for example' illustrates. However, despite the extent to which an instructor might wish to illustrate a subject, experience nevertheless may prove to be vital. The problem, therefore, is incorporation of administrative experience into an administrative instructional situation. This discussion reports, and offers views upon, the utilization of one technique which may be employed both to provide experience for administrative trainees and, in a more advanced form, as one additional evaluative technique in personnel programmes.

The technique is known as an 'in-basket' exercise and appears to have originated about ten years ago as a mode of training administrators in developing countries. In 1966, Claude C. Woltz, a Lecturer in Public Administration, University College, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania developed the 'in-basket' technique as a method of explaining the rationale of routine office procedures and techniques of a public service to local government students.[1] Woltz's technique was later adapted by Hubert Allen while he was a lecturer in the Department of Local Government, Institute of Administration, Almada Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.[2]

I have modestly adapted this technique and employ it, as did Mr Woltz and Mr Allen, as an examination technique for two groups of students, regular university undergraduates and, for students in our Certificate and Diploma programmes in Public Administration.

At an 'in-basket' examination each candidate is handed a file folder containing ten items and instructions,[3] (see: Appendix). The instructions inform the candidate

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[1]Claude C. Woltz, 'In-Basket Exercises for Training in Public Administration', vol I (1966), *Institute of Public Administration*, Dar-es-Salaam.

[2]Mr Allen's report is in: *Journal of Administration Overseas*, XII (January, 1973), pp 37-45.

[3]Clearly the number of items can be expanded and their complexity-mix increased to suit individual testing situations.

that he is a Mr I. M. Ready, Administrative Officer in charge of National Health and Welfare Programmes for South Western Ontario with his office in Chatham, Ontario, 50 miles from the nearest airport.[1] Mr Ready has been on three weeks vacation in a small mountain resort in Ecuador and he returns home on a Sunday at noon. That same evening at 7 pm he decides to visit his office in preparation for work the following day. Mr Ready's assistant has handled most matters in his absence, however, he is unaware that she was absent on the immediately preceding Friday.

The purpose of this scenario is to establish the premise that almost everything Mr Ready must handle is new to him in consequence of his prolonged absence and total isolation.

Upon arrival in his office Mr Ready discovers that he may make only outgoing telephone calls. Moreover, upon calling his assistant he discovers she is out for the evening and it is not known when she will return. Mr Ready has no electronic dictation device available. On his desk is his in-basket containing the ten items Mr Ready must dispose of that very evening.

The random order of the items contained in the 'in-basket' is extremely important because if a candidate should endeavour to work through the items in sequential order he will become hopelessly tied in a confused web. It is at this point that the value of the exercise begins.

The exercise first permits the candidate to experience the need for *assessing* and *assigning priorities*. Here, however, the candidate is faced with three levels of priorities: (a) functional; (b) career; and (c) personal. There is, of course, a relationship between functional and career but for purposes of evaluating the exercise straightforward distinctions are drawn.

Functional Priorities

There exists a relationship in the exercise between a cancelled Deputy-Minister's visit, an urgent Cabinet meeting 'scheduled in regard to a massive, but unconfirmed, diphtheria outbreak in the Ontario region' (Item 1) and a Confidential Memorandum (Item 4) concerning '19 new cases of diptheria in the last 24-hour period' in a town 16 miles from Chatham. If the candidate assigns the highest priority to this situation he is deemed to be cognizant of his principal purpose in office. He has placed highest priority on functions.

Career Priorities

This is perhaps a somewhat drastic imputing of motives, but it does serve to indicate the perceived personal preferences of the candidate. Item 5 is a telephone message recording a call from the Assistant Deputy Minister's office in Ottawa.

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[1] Considerable leeway is taken in the exercise with extraneous details such as whether the function performed falls within federal or provincial jurisdictions, being placed aside.

The message informs Mr Ready that the Ottawa airport might be strikebound and that the Assistant Deputy Minister might not make it to Windsor to open a hospital. Ready is informed that in the event of the strike he will have to act on behalf of the Assistant Deputy Minister who was acting, in any case, on behalf of the Deputy Minister who was to have attended the opening but who has cancelled as a result of the urgent Cabinet meeting (Item 1). If Ready places this situation at the highest priority, I deem that to be greater concern for position and career than concern with health. (Clearly both concerns are not mutually exclusive, but this is simply perception of priorities).

Personal Priorities

Item 9 is a subpoena requiring Mr Ready to appear in court at 9 am the following morning to testify as a witness in a dangerous driving trial. If Ready throws all other priorities aside and turns to this first I suggest that he has permitted his private concerns to outweigh public obligation.

The second matter the candidate must grapple with are *interconnections*. Matters cannot be treated in isolation and then cast to the back of the mind. Thus, the relationship between the urgent Cabinet meeting on an 'unconfirmed' diphtheria outbreak (Item 1) and the report on 19 new cases (Item 4) should be quite apparent. As well, there is the hospital opening and airport problem (Items 1 and 5). However, an interconnection between a possible mis-appropriation of funds (Item 3) and an application for leave of absence to stand for election (Item 7) rarely seems to be grasped by candidates despite the applicant's name, Miss Sterling Virtue.

The third lesson I have labelled simply '*the importance of careful reading*' and is exemplified in Item 6, a letter under a routing slip for Mr Ready's signature. The letter contains three spelling errors, an incorrect date (year) and the correspondent's name is spelled differently on two occasions. Many candidates will simply sign this letter and then continue. As well, the original query is not attached and hence Mr Ready is unable to determine whether the response is adequate or not.

A fourth objective is to impress *the importance of delegation* of responsibility. Item 2 is a telegram from Mr Welldon, National Health and Welfare, Ottawa to Mr Ready alerting him to the possibility of a violent demonstration at the National Health and Welfare office in Windsor. He is informed that the situation is dangerous and that employees should be advised to arrive late for work. Obviously, Ready cannot be in three or four places at once and thus a delegation of responsibility to the senior Windsor officer is in order. Whether the candidate does delegate or chooses to run to the scene of the action is significant.

Fifth, certain items (1, 3, 4 and 6) would seem complicated enough to require *file information*. Thus, a candidate is expected to note this need and react accordingly in a note to his executive assistant.

Similarly, some items require standard *background information* (especially item 6, does the letter answer the lady's inquiry?). Here, a candidate should be alert to

the need for Mr Ready's secretary (Mabel) or assistant to ensure that such information is routinely provided.

Finally, some situations are susceptible to immediate decisions (Items 2, 8 and 10). Item 10 provides the double challenge of both the second language and the fact that Mr Ready will soon have an urgent need for a replacement for Mabel which, considering his dependency upon her, may effect his perception of the pressures weighing upon him.

It is important to remember in assessing 'in-basket' exercises, that the technique has a very limited use. It is a personnel training and evaluation technique and should not be employed in a competitive examination situation. The reason is quite simple.

Examinations at the best of times are extremely stressful situations and if one adds to routine stress the stress inherent in the 'in-basket' exercise, some otherwise very capable candidates will do very badly. To avoid this situation all candidates are assured in advance that passing is not at issue but, rather, imagination and initiative will be appraised on an individual basis.

Evaluation depends, therefore, upon the overall reaction of the evaluator in terms of three very basic questions:

1 did the candidate establish priorities?

2 did the candidate handle the matters expeditiously?

3 were all matters disposed of entirely insofar as it was possible under the circumstances?

If the candidate more or less satisfies those three requirements then a basis exists for relative grading. I have normally assigned ten marks each for the seven areas noted above and 30 marks for assessments of the three questions just noted.

In the four-year period during which I have utilized the in-basket technique I have routinely reviewed the exercise with candidates after return on their papers. Such post-exercise evaluations are vital both to 'de-bug' the various items and, also, to obtain reaction *vis-a-vis* the technique.

Over 100 candidates have been involved with this particular in-basket exercise and some of its early variations. I have never experienced a complaint about the exercise as an evaluative technique. Complaints that have occurred usually have arisen in connection with assumptions which may or may not be implicit in some of the documents. Such problems usually can be resolved on an *ad hoc* basis on the spot (by mutual agreement).

Not surprisingly, and this emerged so well in Mr Allen's work practising administrators and senior students have relatively fewer problems with the in-basket exercise when compared with average undergraduate university students. This

suggests the value of the technique for operational personnel administrators seeking to evaluate early and mid-career candidates for promotion purposes.

Basically, candidates enjoy the exercise both because it is challenging and because it does permit imaginative use of talents. I anticipate, that as we expand our Certificates and Diploma programmes into our Degree in Public Administration I shall be able to develop specialized variations of the technique to cover more particular administrative functions (for example, personnel and financial management, educational administration, etc.). The prospects seem satisfactory providing the technique is carefully planned and applied.

APPENDIX

'In-Basket' Exercise

Action Required
Set out clearly your plan of action for the next 24 hours, including your proposals for any delegation of responsibility. Write in the Examination book provided, NOT on the items themselves.

Background
You are I. M. Ready, Administrative Officer in charge of National Health and Welfare Programmes for South Western Ontario. Your office is in Chatham, Ontario. You have been away on a three-week vacation in a small mountain resort in Ecuador. You have returned home on Sunday, November 30, 1975, at *Noon*. At 7:00 that evening you decide to visit your office to review what might have accumulated in your absence. Your Assistant handled most matters but you are unaware that she was absent from the office on Friday, November 28.

Communications
Your telephone is working for outgoing calls and you are able to discover, through a call, that your Assistant is out for the evening and it is not known when she will return. You have no Dictaphone available. You *must* handle all items tonight.

Situation
You arrive at your office at 7:00 pm and your *In-Basket* contains the following materials precisely in the order that follows. Indicate how you would handle each item in the Examination booklet. Label each instruction Item 1, Item 2, etc.

Note
This is not a scenario exercise and should not be time related.

ITEM 1 28 November, 1975

Memorandum
From: N.H. & W. (Ottawa): Office of the D. Minister
To: A.O. (Chatham)
Ref: Our tel 159, October 27, 1975
Subject: Opening of Pediatric Hospital, Windsor, December 1st, 1975

The Deputy Minister has already informed the Chairman of the Board of the Hospital that he has had to cancel his visit for the opening on the 1st. Minister and D.M. have an urgent Cabinet Meeting scheduled in regard to a massive, but unconfirmed, diphtheria outbreak in the Ontario region. Request you meet me 10:00 a.m., Windsor Airport, Air Cda. flight 460, Monday, December 1st. Please provide draft speech as per D.M.'s request. Also list of dignitaries for opening ceremonies.

Rogers
Assistant Deputy Minister

ITEM 2

Telegram
TELTEX Chtm
OTTAWA ONT
I.M. READY, NH & W November 27, 1975

RCMP RCVD INFO RE POSSIBLE VIOLENT DEMONSTRATION AT NH & W OFFICE WINDSOR MONDAY 1 DECEMBER. WELFARE RECIPIENTS DEMAND BETTER PHARMACY BENEFITS. RCMP ADVISE SITUATION DANGEROUS AND WORSENING. ADVISE WINDSOR EMPLOYEES ARRIVE LATE FOR WORK. NO RPT NO APPARENT NEED TO CLOSE OFFICE IN ADVANCE. FULL DISCRETION YOURS.

WELLDON NH & W
Security

ITEM 3

Department of National Health and Welfare

Urgent
(by hand)

Toronto District Office, 26 November, 1975

Administrative Officer
Chatham.

Dear Sir,

Re: Possible Mis-appropriation of Funds

I regret to inform you that two cheque vouchers (Numbers 03-719-4 and 03-726-2) with a total value of $4,283.29 have been brought to my attention by the senior Treasury Board Accountant in this office. Both cheque vouchers appear to have been forged. They are both allegedly signed by James Lewis your Wallaceburg Accountant. We would appreciate your immediate comments.

Yours sincerely,

George Stokes,
Chief Accountant

ITEM 4

URGENT CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM
November 28, 1975

To: Administrative Officer, Chatham
From: Tilbury Hdqtrs.
Ref: N.H. & W. Circular Bulletin 28/75
Subject: Diptheria Cases

Medical Officers this town report 19 new cases of diphtheria in the last 24-hour period. This brings to 46 cases the number reported since Wednesday. Ref. Bulletin requested immediate reports within 24 hours. Have not complied pending your instructions.

Leroux in Belle River spoke to me on the phone this morning. He has had 12 cases reported since yesterday and is also awaiting your instructions.

Marsh
N.H. & W. (Tilbury)

ITEM 5

Telephone Message

Date: November 28, 1975 Time 5:20 p.m.

Mrs. Johnson, NH & W Ottawa (Assistant D-M's Office) called re: rumour that Ottawa Airport might be closed from Sunday onwards due to airline ground controllers' strike. Requested you call and confirm.

Mabel

P.S. She said that if Mr. Rogers can't make it to Hospital opening you may have to fill in.

ITEM 6

The Attached is for your signature

November 28, 1974

Mrs. Isabel Waziri,
R.R. 3,
Cottan, Ontario.

Dear Mrs. Wazeri:

I appreciate the problem you raised in your letter of May 9, 1975. I have requested our District Liason Officer, Mr. Simon, to arrange to meet with you at yours convenience. Naturally, you may still wish to write to the Prime Minister to complain and I am sure that he, like our office, will be deeply interested in your problem.

I thank you for your views on the Income Security Programme you may rest assured that they will be considered.

Yours sincerely,

I.M. Ready,
Administrative Officer.

IMR/jw

ITEM 7

Inter Office Memo

November 27, 1975

To: Admin. Officer, N.H. & W. (Chatham)
From: Director, N.H. & W. (Wallaceburg)
Re: Vacation Leave

Miss Stirling Virtue, assistant accountant and supply officer in our Wallaceburg office has requested 30 days leave of absence under Reg. 55 to run as a candidate in the local election. The election is August 25, 1976.

Marbles
Director

ITEM 8

Secret

National Health & Welfare

Bulletin: Emergency Evacuation Plans

The attached booklet contains the Emergency Evacuation Plans for your (*Region*). You are requested to familiarize yourself with these Plans and Instructions and to have them readily available in the event of need during nuclear attack, national emergency, or national disaster.

Louis
COMCENTRE OTTAWA

Mr. Ready: What should I do with this? Mabel

ITEM 9

November 27, 1975

Judicial Notice
Between
Her Majesty
and
Victor Martin

To: I.M. Ready

Whereas: complaint has been made before me that Victor Martin is suspected of having committed the offence of causing Death by Dangerous Driving, contrary to the Criminal Code, on Highway 401, Interchange 15 on Friday October 11, 1975 at 10:20 a.m. And it appears likely that you can furnish material evidence.

You are hereby summoned, therefore, to appear before a Provincial Judge at the County Court House in Chatham on the 1st day of December 1975 10:00 a.m. (Court Room A) to testify what you know concerning the matter of said complaint. Failure to attend will necessitate issuance of a Warrant compelling attendance.

John's Law
Registrar.

ITEM 10

MEMORANDUM

le 26 novembre 1975

A: M.I.M. Ready, O.A. (Chatham)
De: Directeur du Bilinguisme, Bureau de la Santé et du Bien-être Publique, (Ottawa)

Sujet: Bilinguisme
Ref: Notre letter du 10 octobre 1975

Mll. Mabel Willing a été nomineée au stage de bilinguisme. Elle doit se présente à l'Ecole Bilingue à Londres, le 19 decembre 1975 a 9:00 heures.

Caron
Directeur

Central-Local Relations in Philippine Municipal Reform, 1954-1960

A. B. VILLANUEVA*

In a modernizing nation such as the Philippines, public services are always welcome like the rain from the sky which nurtures the rice-fields during the planting season. For without them Filipino children could not get their elementary education, farmers could not have their irrigation systems, and rural folk could not have their feeder roads linking their barrios to *poblaciones* (town centres). That this sample of governmental services is highly essential to national development was recognized by almost everyone regardless of ideological position. However, what appears to be the problem is the difficulty of arriving at a consensus on who should control the delivery system: the national government or the subnational governments (provinces, chartered cities, municipalities and barrios) or both? If both are to play the role of providers of public services, what functions are appropriate for local purposes? Which of the functions now performed by central administrative agencies should be given priority and what unit of local government should perform them? How and where are the local units going to get the money to finance these activities? Will they be able to perform them with the same degree of efficiency as the national bureaux and offices? The purpose of this article is to examine these questions.

The Dichotomy between National and Local Functions

For many years water, sewer and drainage systems in the Philippines were operated by local governments. But local 'ownership, jurisdiction, supervision and control' over these systems passed into the hands of the National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority, popularly known as NAWASA, in 1955 including their bonds, funds, assets and liabilities.[1] There were several reasons put forth as justification for this transfer. First, centralized administration of these systems would bring better service, improve efficiency and economy, and protect the 'sources of water supply'.[2] Second, the 'care and maintenance' of these systems had been unsatisfactory in the hands of local governments because of their 'fumblings and blunderings'.[3] Third, these systems affect the national welfare, the protection of which cannot

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[1] *Republic Act No.* 1383, Approved June, 1955, Secs. 1, 8.

[2] *Senate Congressional Record*, 2:1055, 1057, May 9, 1955.

[3] *Ibid.*

be handled satisfactorily by local entities due to their lack of funds and the performance of which can only be performed by 'highly-trained, well-qualified technical men whose services local governments cannot afford' to pay.[1] Fourth, the centralization of these systems would be beneficial to the local governments because 'the money that will be earned by the wealthier municipalities (from these systems) may be invested for the improvement of . . . (antiquated) systems in the poor municipalities which cannot afford to do so . . .'[2] Fifth, this is an area which 'should be taken as an exception to the policy of giving the local governments autonomy'.[3] However, no reason was given why it should be so.

The Fourth Congress, however, realized that its predecessor had made a 'terrible mistake' in passing the NAWASA law, especially when initial efforts were becoming manifest in favour of greater local autonomy. Accordingly, an abortive amendment to the law was proposed in 1957, followed by another in 1958, and still another in 1959. None of these measures, however, was ever put to a vote. But the clamour of the local officials, citizens, and the press for the restoration of local government authority and responsibility over these systems revived these measures in 1960 and they were consolidated into a bill proposing to abolish the NAWASA.*[4]

The first complaint against the transfer of these enterprises to the national government was that the NAWASA 'had become a dumping place for political protegées,' and that the inefficiency of this agency had diminished the quality of drinkable water which, in the words of a municipal mayor, is sometimes diluted with 'obnoxious matter (such) as larvae, dead beetles or insects, and pieces of decaying grass'.[5] Secondly, it would be unfair to allow other local units to share in the profits of one municipality arising from the operation of these systems. 'Why', it was asked, 'in the name of justice should that be the case?'[6] Thirdly, the advantages which were claimed by the authors of the law have not been attained. On the contrary, it has resulted in 'unnecessary delay', 'gross inefficiency', 'maladministration', and 'extravagance'.[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p 1056.

[2] *Senate Congressional Record*, 4:605, March 27, 1957.

[3] 'Explanatory Note', *House Bill No.* 2026, 3rd Cong., 1st Sess., in *House Congressional Record*, 1:3471-3472, May 19, 1954.

*The Bill was not passed and water and sewage remain national functions. No present plans are known for the return of responsibility to local government.

[4] *Senate Congressional Record*, 4:792, April 12, 1957; *Senate Bill No.* 463, 4th Cong., 3rd Sess.; *The Sunday Times*, April 13, 1958, p 24; *The Manila Chronicle*, January 28, 1960, p 24; February 6, 1960, p 24; *The Manila Bulletin*, January 28, 1960, p 1; *Philippines Free Press*, September 17, 1960, p 32.

[5] *The Manila Bulletin*, January 21, 1960, p 1; *Philippines Free Press*, August 15, 1959, p 73; October 27, 1960, p 60.

[6] *Senate Congressional Record*, 4:606, March 7, 1957.

[7] *Philippines Free Press*, August 15, 1959, p 73; *The Sunday Punch*, April 3, 1960, p 4; *The Manila Times*, February 14, 1960, p 18-A, February 5, 1960, p 4-B; January 21, 1960, p 16-A; *The Manila Chronicle*, January 30, 1960, p 1.

Thus, it was argued that the towns and cities which owned such systems previously now have men competent enough to operate them successfully; that local management would be more economical; that the governments of cities and municipalities can do a better job of maintaining them; that it will elimate patronage in the NAWASA and cut red tape in the latter, since there will no longer be too many employees handling a piece of paper requesting action regarding the improvements that have to be made.[1]

On the other hand, NAWASA defenders believed that the Authority has been doing a good job 'in insuring a steady supply of potable water'[2] and that the charges against the NAWASA ranging from laxity to dirty water are groundless. They pointed out that if local officials should take over these systems agains they will use 'waterworks funds for political purposes', as they used to do.[3]

The issue continued to be the subject of public controversy until the court, in the cases of Baguio City vs. NAWASA and Cebu City vs. NAWASA, resolved the issue in favour of the national governments ruling that if 'national welfare'[4] so dictates, the national government may perform a local function. However, the court decision did not end public discussion of the issue, since a number of questions were raised: What is national welfare? Where does it begin? Where does it end? Many believe that the answer will likely be vague and that the effect of the Court decision on local responsibility will be serious. If national welfare is accepted as a justification for centralized administration, self-government will be curtailed because it will 'be a real handicap to ... community self-reliance and initiative', and because the local governments will not be encouraged to make improvements of their waterworks, since there will be 'dual authority and possible conflict', in the use of thoroughfares where pipelines and sewer laterals will be installed.[5]

The Question of Priorities

Although there was general agreement in favour of the concept of decentralization, there was dissensus on two related questions: (1) Which local units should be the first to be authorized to perform some of the functions that will be decentralized? (2) Which of these functions can be performed locally now? To the first question, some were of the opinion that provinces ought to have top priority, others the municipalities, while still others claimed that the cities should come first. To the second, many felt that education should be given top priority while others believed that those functions which are now financed jointly by local and national govern-

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[1]Jose A. De Villa, 'Letter to the Editor', *The Manila Chronicle*, April 9, 1960, p 4; *Philippines Free Press*, October 22, 1960, p 60; *The Manila Times*, April 1, 1959, p 4-A; June 8, 1960, p 20-A.

[2]*The Manila Times*, March 2, 1960, p 20-A; March 17, 1960, p 13-A; *Philippines Free Press*, April 9, 1960, p 56.

[3]A. Eugenio, 'Letter to the Editor', *The Manila Chronicle*, March 17, 1960, p 4.

[4]Baguio vs Nawasa, G.R. L-12032, August 31, 1959; Cebu vs. Nawasa, August 30, 1960 (transcript).

[5]Ludwig, *et passim*, p 14.

ments such as health and agriculture are more appropriate for immediate decentralization.

The advocates of provinces point to the fact that the latter are the places where most of the field agencies of the central departments are located, and the fact that 'many municipalities are not in a position financially', to undertake local projects such as, for example, the reclamation of foreshore lands.[1] Secondly, they are in a better position to provide services to a greater number of citizens and to a wider area. Thirdly, the provinces can play the role of 'co-ordinating centres' of governmental services to the local people.

The proposal met stiff opposition from Congressman Gonzales. In a speech during a 'privilege' hour in the lower chamber, he objected to the proposal and went on record to suggest that, because provinces are the major stumbling blocks to self-government in barrios and municipalities, they should be abolished.[2] In the upper chamber, the proposal ran into the sarcasm of Senator Tanda when he asked: 'Why deprive the municipality of authority to reclaim foreshore lands and give it to the province, when, perhaps, the reclaimed foreshore lands can be better administered by the municipality rather than the province?'[3]

Supporters of the 'city-first' idea, on the other hand, cited public utility regulation as grounds which would justify the proposition that cities should be given priority. This was said to be a function which none but cities could perform, since municipalities have not yet reached the point of development warranting such action. But Senator Cabili, who spoke on behalf of municipal governments, pointed out that the latter have public utility problems too. Nevertheless, city advocates rejoined, they 'can only be counted by the fingers'.[4] And so the delegation of this authority to municipalities should be withheld for the time being.

Those who approached the question of priorities in functional terms also were divided. As expected, the school consultants considered education as the highest priority, because it was alleged that it is the most appropriate function for which to develop local responsibility. Moreover, it will make local governments feel that they are real, active, and important contributors to the progress of the nation. For after all, national development depends largely upon the ability of a people to respond to the challenge of changing conditions which, in turn, can only be met successfully by an educated citizenry.[5] But those who pointed to health and agriculture as more important than education argued that even though the maintenance of schools ought to be a local function, it should be a part of a long-

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[1]Quoted from the *Senate Congressional Record*, by Napoleon G. Rama, 'The People and The Manila Bay Reclamation Dean', *Philippines Free Press*, September 10, 1960, p 43.

[2]*House Congressional Record*, 2:1152, March 9, 1959.

[3]*Loc Cit.*

[4]*Senate Congressional Record*, 2:715-718, April 19, 1955.

[5]UNESCO, *Report of the Mission To The Philippines*, 28 *July* 1949. Paris: UNESCO House, 1950, pp 70-71.

range plan since the local units are still too handicapped by lack of finances to assume this function with maximum effectiveness. Furthermore, since municipalities are actually allocating a percentage of their funds to the support of national activities in the fields of health and agriculture, this consideration dictates that the latter should be given prior attention in any plan for functional devolution.[1]

The Methods of Financing

With respect to the methods of financing local functions, reformers have suggested taxation, grants-in-aid, borrowing, contracting, special assessment, and local shares from internal revenue collections.

Those who have suggested taxation point to the real property tax as the major source of local revenue to support the schools. The real property tax ceiling then was considered too low and so it was suggested that it should be revised upward to a maximum of three per cent, the proceeds from which should be funded as follows: '2/8 of one per cent ... to the provincial fund, 2/8 of one per cent ... to the municipal fund, (and) 4/8 of one per cent ... to the municipal school fund'.[2] It was proposed that one-eighth of the two-eighth provincial share should be the 'mainstay of the provincial school fund'[3] while the rest should be treated in the following manner: 'The chartered cities will continue to levy the present tax of two-eighths of one per cent on real property and shall use the proceeds of such tax exclusively for the support of elementary schools. In the municipality and municipal districts, a uniform tax of two-eighths of one per cent on real property shall be levied, the proceeds of which shall constitute a school fund of the municipality. The National Government is obliged to appropriate an amount which will cover the difference between the cost of the actual operation of the ... programme and the potential proceeds that may be derived from the uniform tax levy of two-eighths of one per cent on real property'.[4]

Those who looked at the whole problem of governmental functions observed that the proceeds of the new tax levies, in the light of political realities, might not be used for school building improvements at all. It could be used to increase the salaries of school teachers.[5] Furthermore, it is hardly conceivable that local officials will increase tax rates on property for school purposes, since they cannot now comply with the Minimum Wage Law.[6] Finally, if there will ever be additional sources of revenue, local councils will prefer to use them for health and agriculture instead of education.[7]

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[1] Leonardo C. Mariano, 'Centralization vs. Devolution', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, 1:188 (1957).

[2] Philippine Association of School Superintendents, *Education in Rural Areas For Better Living*, 1950 *Yearbook*. Manila: Bookman, Inc., 1950, p 265.

[3] *Ibid.*, p 269.

[4] Antonio Isidro and others, *Compulsory Education in the Philippines*. Paris: UNESCO, 1952, pp 68-72.

[5] *House Congressional Record*, 1:3278, May 18, 1954.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Mariano, 'Centralization vs. Devolution', *et passim*, p 188.

Believing that the proceeds from the real property tax will not be sufficient to finance municipal activities, other reformers proposed that the national government should help through a system of grants-in-aid. In the case of schools, it was pointed out, national grants should be made on the basis of educational needs and should 'cover from one-half to three-fourths of the total cost of education'.[1] Such a method will bring local and national governments into a sort of partnership. But the extreme advocates of local autonomy fear that such a grant-in-aid system will merely provide an occasion for the state to interfere in local administration.

The next proposal was to authorize cities and municipalities to issue bonds, the proceeds from which would be used to purchase school sites or finance reclamation projects. But attitudes toward this means of financing were unfavourable during the time of Magsaysay. However, these attitudes changed when President Garcia succeeded the latter and thus cities and municipalities have been given the authority to 'issue bonds' to finance the reclamation of local shorelines. Yet these bonds are not subject to local referendum because the reclamation law provides that the amounts, terms and conditions of these bonds are to be 'fixed by the Secretary of Finance'.[2]

The local governments were also given authority to contract indebtedness with any person, association, corporations, or lending institutions, in connection with the reclamation of submerged lands along the shorelines of municipalities or cities. Thus, the local councils of Pasay City and some Cavite municipalities entered into separate contracts with the Republic Real Estate Corporation (RREC), a private firm, to reclaim their respective foreshore lands along Manila Bay.

These contracts have caused a great deal of public debate. There were those who looked at the contracts as devices which violate the reclamation act because it was alleged that the spirit of the law is to enable local governments to reclaim their shorelines at their own expense. There were also those who considered the provisions of the contracts entered into between the RREC and the said local governments as onerous to the latter. In the first place, the contracts provide that 60 per cent of reclaimed lands shall be allocated to the RREC and 40 per cent to local governments. Secondly, the public improvements which will be made in the area such as parks, lagoons, oceanaria, and so forth will be drawn from the 40 per cent share of the local governments. Thirdly, the local governments shall reimburse the RREC for its expenses, give the RREC the right to select the 60 per cent portion alloted to it, fix the price of the reclaimed area, determine how much it will spend on the reclamation projects, and hire the people whom it wishes to employ.

RREC representatives, however, argued that because the Philippine economy rests on the principle of free enterprise and because local governments do not have enough public funds to finance these projects, lending institutions and

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[1] UNESCO, *supra*, pp 71-72.

[2] *Republic Act No.* 1899, Approved June 1957, Sec 3.

contracting firms should give them assistance. Yet local government partisans point out that although the Philippine economy rests upon the free enterprise system, it also rests upon the principle that such a system is responsible, ie, there must be a public bidding before a contract is awarded. The records show that no public bidding was held and that there is nothing in the contract providing for a time limit within which the contractor shall finish his reclamation project. There is also no clause in the contract giving the local governments power to compel the contractor to accomplish his job. Thus, the contractor 'could simply dump a few rocks and claim that it was complying with the contract'.[1]

For local projects such as street surfacing, sidewalks, curbs and gutters, water extensions, sewer laterals, etc, it was proposed that the costs of these improvements should be apportioned among all property owners on the basis of the amount of benefits they receive. This method of special assessment was justified on the ground that it will increase the market value of the properties that will be specially assessed.[2] Very little use has been made of this method of financing local improvements in the Philippines. At present there is no great opposition to nor enthusiasm for its use.

The last but one of the most important proposals has been for the use of local government shares from internal revenue collections. An increase in the latter was proposed and in so doing it there were those who thought this might abolish or minimize the 'pork barrel' system. Why and how this should be done can be gleaned from the following excerpts of an exchange of views between Senators Pelaez and Rosales:[3]

SENATOR PELAEZ. Could we not also consider the abolition of the 'pork barrel' system, this system where yearly these local officials come to us? I do not feel very comfortable when I see a provincial governor or a municipal mayor coming to me and asking me for a share and we really do not know the conditions in the province and we who are national officials are supposed to dole out P2,000 or P3,000.

SENATOR ROSALES. That is precisely my observation of what is happening now. Suppose a municipal mayor constructs a small public market, he will have to come to Manila spending his time here asking for money. That is why if we increase the allotment of the province and municipality, we do not need to have this 'pork barrel'. That would take care of their respective needs if we give them greater participation from the internal revenue allotment . . .

. . . SENATOR PELAEZ. For example, we have millions of pesos appropriated for community projects. But let us be frank about it and call it 'pork barrel'. Why don't we devise means where they will be allotted to the municipalities?

SENATOR ROSALES. Frankly speaking, our provinces get very little of this allotment and that is why we should divide this revenue equally among the provinces in accordance with a set of standards.

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[1] *The Manila Times*, September 15, 1960, p 1-A; *Philippines Free Press*, October 15, 1960, pp 39, 61; May 24, 1958, p 7; Napoleon G. Rama, 'The People and The Manila Bay Reclamation Deal', *Philippines Free Press*, September 3, 1960, pp 36-37, 39; September 10, 1960, pp 42-43; October 1, 1960, pp 34-35.

[2] Cf Ludwig, *et passim*, pp 61-62 and Owslay, *et passim*, p 166, especially the latter's 'Notes and Comments'.

[3] *Diario De Senado*, May 13, 1959.

The 'pork barrel', which the two lawmakers referred to, is a yearly congressional appropriation allocating a certain sum of money to be spent for roads or bridges by the Department of Public Works. The places where this money is used are designated in the act at the wish of the members of Congress. The share of each national legislator varies from P250,000* for a member of the lower chamber to P300,000 for a member of the Senate. The labourers who work on these projects are personally recommended by representatives or senators.

This system is one of the most important obstacles to local self-government. Indeed, it is a device which national leaders in Congress use to control local representatives. It serves, for the most part, as an invisible magnet that draws these two together. The former, as Congressman Moreno said, 'wants to see results of the money he allows (public works) engineers to spend and at the same time he wants his constituents, the petty, small-time barrio politician . . . in lazy-time employment and, oftentimes, in padded payrolls'.[1]

While it is true that most local improvements have been financed by this system, the funds are not given without condition. There are strings attached which, in fact, are manipulated by members of the national lawmaking body. 'Pork barrel' grants are bartered for votes and are given only if local officials promise to co-operate. Because their local governments do not have sufficient resources, these officials are forced to accept the conditions imposed by the members of Congress. 'Well, what can I do?' said a municipal executive one time, 'I am a small town mayor, so I'll go along with you provided you give me the pork barrel'.[2]

It should be pointed out that there are advantages of 'pork barrels'. One is that it reduces that part of the labour force which is unemployed. Another is that it advances economic development programme, since it will be used to improve the nation's highways. On the other hand, there are also disadvantages: unplanned municipal projects, stronger central governments, and subservient local governments.

Local Capacities and Responsibilities

An important factor that works against functional decentralization is the inability of local officials to perform the activities that would be assigned to them. Several examples are illustrative: the maintenance of schools, roads, and hospitals as well as the administration of planning, zoning, and purchasing.

It was feared that politics might creep into the school system if local officials who,

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*1 Philippine peso=(approx) 26 USA cents (Ed.)

[1]Florencio Moreno, 'Capital Improvement Budgeting', in Odell Waldby, *Philippine Public Fiscal Administration: Readings and Documents*. Manila: Institute of Public Administration, 1954, p 303.

[2]*Report on the Seminar for Municipal Mayors of the Philippines on Local Autonomy and Community Development, Held at the Community Development Center, Laguna, April* 3-5, 1959, pp 26-27. Quotation is from an extemporaneous speech of Senator Pelaez.

indeed, are politicians, were to control it and possibly even wreck the system eventually.[1] In the case of hospitals, it was pointed out that local governments might be reluctant to contribute their share in support of these institutions and thus lead to 'a high incidence of tuberculosis'.[2]

The power of local units to zone and plan their districts, say, into commercial and residential districts was viewed with pessimism. Fear was expressed that adjoining municipalities might have different conceptions of the areas lying on their boundaries. One might zone it as residential and the other might zone it into an industrial district. If that happens, it was argued, it will be detrimental to overall planning.[3]

To authorize the local officials to purchase supplies and equipment according to 'negotiated sale' instead of 'public bidding' – as long as the amount of purchase does not exceed P500 for municipalities and P5,000 for cities and provinces as the Local Autonomy Bill of 1959 proposed – would be dangerous. It was argued that local officials might enter into 'improper combinations' with businessmen and split the profits between them. Or they might 'divide their purchases into P500 in the case of municipalities so as to avoid public bidding'.[4]

But the reply to all these contentions was that there should be 'faith in the good sense' of local officials and not just fear that they are going to abuse their new powers. Moreover, the argument continued, local autonomy precisely gives such power so 'that they will develop their sense of responsibility to do things for the good of the people and the community'.[5] Above all, this argument insists, this is part of the risk we run in a democracy and it is important that we face this risk boldly in order to take a forward step, otherwise local autonomy will never advance.

Conclusion

In spite of numerous attempts to transform the Philippine system of public service delivery into a shared responsibility between the national government and the local governments, there is hardly any evidence that it is so in practice. It is not that local officials feel unable, insecure and incompetent to discharge new responsibilities. Rather, it is the unwillingness of national officials to give up their control over these functions. This unwillingness is grounded on fear – the fear that as local power increases, national power decreases because decentralization is a distributor of power with a centrifugal force. It shifts power from the centre to the periphery. While this untrustworthy national attitude is understandable, it was overlooked by the forces of reform. To them it was just a pebble on the rough road to local government modernization when in fact it is a great boulder-like obstacle.

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[1] *Senate Congressional Record*, 3:47, June 26, 1956.

[2] *The Manila Bulletin*, April 16, 1960, p 1; *The Manila Chronicle*, April 17, 1960, p 4.

[3] *The Manila Times*, August 15, 1960, p 3-A.

[4] *Diario De Senado*, May 13, 1959.

[5] *Ibid.*

Quarterly Notes

BRITAIN – Town and Country Planning Overseas Summer School
The 1976 Overseas Summer School was held at Nottingham University 3-7 September. There were some 85 participants, nearly a third from overseas – mostly from the Third World – with others coming from the staffs of British Universities, UK local and central Government, private consultancies and agencies. While architects and planners predominated there was a valuable 'leavening' of sociologists, geographers, engineers and administrators. Assisted by most helpful wardens, the school was happily and comfortably accommodated in Derby Hall and faced none of the constraints which had evoked adverse comment at Aberystwyth the previous year.

Dr Wilfrid Burns from DOE leader of the British Officials at the Habitat Conference, set a high tone for the proceedings with his balanced and largely hopeful account of the proceedings at Vancouver. The theme for the School was 'Settlement Patterns and Rural Development' and among the diverse facets enlarged upon were the institutional aspects of rural development, introduced by Dr Raul Basaldua from Peru; population problems presented with skilled professional aplomb by Dr Joan Chapman, an introduction to Chinese rural development presented with fascinating lucidity by Harold Dickinson (supported by slides) – this was an after dinner seminar and it was closed only with reluctance when 11 pm had already passed; village planning in Egypt presented with charm and humour by Professor Hassan Fathy.

Discussions throughout were keen and lively, from the opening evening when the Vice-Chancellor – that great UK local government figure Alderman Sir Francis Hill, had welcomed both the overseas and the concurrent Councillors School, through a Sunday afternoon outing to the woodlands of Robin Hood, to the best-ever attended Annual General Meeting at which, passed unanimously and with acclaim was a Resolution to the effect that the Overseas School should retain its own separate identity and should not be integrated with the Main School.

The School was ably chaired by Professor Percy Johnson-Marshall from Edinburgh as successor to Mr George Franklin whose absence from proceedings which he had done so much to organise and conduct for nearly a decade, cast the only shadow

over a particularly stimulating and useful five days. The Annual General Meeting expressed the strong desire to see him return to the next School's proceedings. It was perhaps typical of this happy occasion that the Derby Hall porter, who was mourning the cutting down during vacation of an ancient oak in the quadrangle, found himself, to his surprise and delight, being presented with some £50 collected by School members for the planting of a new tree and appropriate improvements to the surrounds of the old one.

(Specially contributed)

WEST AFRICA – Diamond Jubilee

In February *West Africa* celebrated its Diamond Jubilee with a finely produced special Number. This forward-looking liberally-oriented weekly has always kept up-to-date in its policies and published material, ever since its first editor was appointed on the insistence of Lord Milner on the grounds that 'he fears nether God nor man and I had to put him in goal' (for criticing British behaviour during the Boer war). To have studied with success the Colonial era and the achievement of West African independence as an expatriate-produced newspaper, reflects high credit on its continuing editorial management.

Book Reviews

The Home of Man, BARBARA WARD; *Penguin Books,* 1976; pp 197; £3.75.

'The discussion of human settlements, by bringing together all the dilemmas in their fateful and inevitable inter-connectedness, can become not an instrument of confusion but of genuine learning and light'. Barbara Ward tells us towards the end of her important new book. Although the United Nations 1976 'Habitat' Conference seems to have added to the confusion in some quarters, there can be no doubt that this book both contributes in no small measure to improving our understanding of many of the problems and possibilities of urbanisation.

For many years Barbara Ward has been lecturing, writing, teaching and thinking about human settlements and she was asked to provide an introduction to the subject on the occasion of the United Nations Conference. With characteristic generosity she acknowledges the assistance and advice received from friends in many countries and pays special tribute to the stimulation received from Constantinos Doxiadis: nevertheless the assembly of information, its distillation and interpretation in a brilliantly persuasive and highly readable manner stem from its author's dedication in difficult circumstances to one of the most important areas of concern for mankind – his home.

The book proceeds logically from examination of the historical beginnings of urbanisation and the formation of early cities, of a humanly comprehensible size, to the unintended metropolises of the twentieth century, characterised by rapid growth of area and population and by an explosion in land values. An important section on Technological Order begins with a discussion about economic constraints and after consideration of housing, community and neighbours; mobility and transport, the section concludes with an examination of Rural-Urban Balance. To many readers the final three sections on 'The Poor World's Settlements', on 'The Problems of Management' and on 'The Universal City' will be the most important as well as being the most alarming and thought provoking.

Barbara Ward comments on that western societies have no idea that such human degradation can exist as that she describes, nor is there in one society any really adequate appreciation of the scale and rate of change that is required. Regretably,

there is little doubt that her analysis is correct, but a reading of her book should help to remedy the situation. At a time when the expectation of life in South East Africa is 50 years and but 42 in tropical Africa, we are faced with a population increase in third world cities of a magnitude never before experienced. What scale of inormity will it reach as health provision improves and life expectancy increases? In the nineteenth century when the population of Europe was growing rapidly, over 40 million people emigrated to America but now there are no wide open spaces available and welcoming to migrants – and in any case imigration that scale would only cater for three years population growth in India alone.

The fundamental issue that emerges is the need for justice: justice in the distribution of the essentials for a decent life, and in the use of the earth's abundant but unlimited supply of resources. If there was only progress to the extent of ensuring a supply of clean drinking water and a proper drainage system, we would be one long stride forward and many other problems could be overcome. If this valuable book is as widely read as it deserves to be, some of the ignorance that inhibits good development will be overcome and we may perhaps share Barbara Ward's cautious optimism and look forward to a new and happier era for 'the whole of human life in all its variety'.

G. B. Dix

Aid and Inequality in Kenya, by Gerald Holtham and Arthur Hazlewood; *Croom Helm for the Overseas Development Institute, London;* pp 265.

This important and excellent book is part of a series prepared under the auspices of the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and financed by the Social Science Research Council. Similar studies have been prepared on British aid to Malawi and to the three small Southern African countries of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. No criticism of these earlier volumes is intended in saying that this is the most important of the series.

The organisation of the book is clear and simple. The first chapter gives a short but good and essential picture of the Kenyan economy prior to and at the moment of Independence. It makes clear the thread of continuity with the post-Independence period. The focus on the land question foreshadows one of the main case studies taken up subsequently (in Chapter 5).

Chapter 2 sets the scene by discussing Kenyan progress and policies since Independence. It shows clearly the cumulative growth of inequality which, however, is not inconsistent with rising living standards for the masses of the people and alleviation of absolute poverty (the alleged over-emphasis on inequality to the neglect of absolute living standards attributed to the ILO Employment Mission is not justified). The description of Kenya's administration should perhaps have put more emphasis on the Provincial Commissioners directly reporting to the President which form such a large part of Kenyan political reality.

Chapter 3 gives the main facts of British and other assistance to Kenya. It seems a pity, in a book published in 1976, that the tables should end in 1973. (The subsequent discussion takes in more recent development.) One would have liked, here and throughout the book, to learn perhaps a little more about the British role in multilateral institutions and British policies regarding the division of aid between bilateral and multilateral channels. It would also have been valuable to try to give some detail on the relationship between the tying of aid, both by project and procurement, and the technology employed, and hence the effect on employment and income distribution.

Chapter 4 discusses British aid policy, including comparisons with other donors. It shows clearly the deterioration in aid conditions for the recipients since the days of colonial C D & W. It makes a convincing case against the 'obsessive and malfunctioning secrecy' concerning the CPP (Country Policy Programme) and related targets. One hopes that the ODM will take note of this well-founded criticism. British aid emerges from this particularly well-written chapter neither as a neocolonialist arch villain (on the contrary, the main fault is one of undue reticence) nor as a shining fighter for rural development or in the battle against poverty. The truth is shown to be somewhere in between. The ODM policy is described as 'much less interventionist than many other donors', although that policy is now changing' (this judgement is actually marred by a confusing printing error, where '*now*' read '*not*'). As the authors point out, the trouble is that a self-denying ordinance by ODM does little good if other donors are piling in.

Chapter 5 contains case studies of three British-aided projects: The Land Transfer Programme, The Mumias Sugar Company, and The Special Rural Development Programme.

An elaborate calculation results in a denial of the view that British aid with land transfer was not really aid to Kenya and should not be counted as such on the grounds that it was really aid to British settlers. The argument, further elaborated in an appendix, is 'that the optimal degree of expropriation was probably low in Kenya's mixed-farm sector in view of the output at stake'. In strictly economic terms, the case made in support of this is quite plausible, but one suspects that political pressures would have resulted in expropriation with little or no compensation in the absence of British aid. The case study on Mumias Sugar touches on the issue of appropriate technology, which one would have liked to see more strongly developed throughout this book. The last sentence of this case study, however, is a gross *non sequitur* when it states that while the money spent to finance the sugar factory, as a result of resource fungibility, might in fact have financed other expenditures, this should be satisfactory to the donors, eg, the UK, 'on export grounds if the other expenditures are less import-intensive'. The opposite seems true (perhaps '*less*' is simply an error for '*more*'?). The case study on the Special Rural Development Programme draws strongly on the work of Robert Chambers. It shows the complexities and difficulties in the way of technical assistance and aid for rural development which now forms the cornerstone of ODM policy.

Chapter 6 analyses the concept of fungibility and its implications for aid and then discusses the effect of aid on Kenyan public finance, development policy, administration, and the political scene. This chapter deserves more attention than can be given in the framework of a brief review. The discussion on fungibility breaks new ground for aid analysis in several directions. Here, we must limit ourselves to citing the conclusion: 'Aid donors have influence as a group over the composition of the public investment programme and individual donors can influence the detailed specifications of individual projects. Practically all attempts by them to influence sectoral policies have been failures, however: birth control and education are examples. We could find no evidence of donors influencing wider policies in practice, although plenty of evidence of them influencing the contents of the Development Plan. It may be that much the greatest donor influence comes through the activities of technical assistance personnel within the Kenyan government machine, but it is extraordinarily difficult to assess this'. The final upshot of the analysis is that aid has probably been a force for inequality above that which is inherent in growth itself, but that at the same time, aid has also been a force making for growth and rise in absolute standards.

Chapter 7 suggests the policy implications for donors of the preceding analysis. Again, one hopes that this will be carefully studied, or has been carefully studied, in ODM. This reviewer would particularly support the arguments for untying much of technical assistance, the abolition of the absurd rules against financing recurrent expenditures, and for greater openness and more information to the Kenyans. The suggestions regarding technical assistance are particularly perceptive.

Chapter 8 reviews some academic controversies about aid in the light of the preceding study. It shows the middle-of-the-road instincts of the authors and their pragmatic approach to aid at its best. Their final conclusion is perhaps best expressed in their own words: 'Our study of British aid to Kenya does not incline us to an extreme view of either the benefits or the burdens of aid for the recipient country. Nor has the fact that Kenya remains a poor country caused us to conclude that aid has been a failure'.

This review has not been able to do full justice to the wealth of information and insight contained in this book. It represents an important contribution to development studies. The reviewer, as a member of the Advisory Committee for this study, had an opportunity to see this book evolve from early drafts to an impressive final end-product.

H. W. SINGER

Policy-Making in British Government: An analysis of Power and Rationality, BRIAN SMITH; *Martin Robertson, London,* 1976; pp 210; £2.65 Paperback; £5.95 Boards.

In the last fifty years the teaching of British government and administration has gone through various phases. The scheme which we inherited in the 1930's was largely institutional; on the one hand, constitutional law and theory (dominated

by Dicey's views, first formulated in the 1880's, and long out of date), on the other hand the institutions of public administration, studied largely in terms of the evolution of statutory and financial provisions.

The social science 'movement' found this totally unacceptable, a facade which concealed the realities of politics from the public gaze. Oddly enough, this mood was common to Marxists and to empirical American pluralists, and we went through a period of total scepticism about the relevance of formal structures to questions of (as Dr Smith puts it) 'power and rationality'.

There is now in progress a quest for middle ground, exemplified by a flood of research work about the 'processes' of 'policy-making' or of 'decision-making' (two approaches with much in common). These descriptive studies of how things happen in government explode the notion that procedure or structure is irrelevant; they emphasise also that outcomes are affected by accidents of individual personality as well as by the interplay of social forces.

Dr Smith's book looks at British political and administrative institutions from that point of view, and reviews the literature in a lucid and pragmatic way. The book is not theoretically ambitious, and steers its way around a good many sore spots in argument about our polity. But clearly this is what he intended, and he has produced a useful teaching instrument for students at about second year level. Its main weakness in that respect is that the 'policy-making approach' depends for its effectiveness largely on case-studies, preferably worked out by each student for himself or herself as a practical exercise; and of course there is no space for such extended 'anecdotes' in a book of this size. Hence Dr Smith's carefully worked out scheme of exposition may strike students at first as being rather dry and formal; it leaves plenty of room for adventurous and gifted teaching in seminars and tutorials.

W. J. M. MACKENZIE

Why poor people stay poor: urban bias in world development, MICHAEL LIPTON; *Temple Smith;* pp 467 incl. bibliography, tables, index; £9.50 boards.

Development studies is in something of a crisis. It is not primarily a crisis of thought, but a crisis of economic development itself. After nearly thirty years of sustained efforts to develop, most backward countries are still marked by extreme poverty, great inequalities of income and severe vulnerability to the vagaries of wind and weather.

Professor Lipton's book is a contribution to the diagnosis of the illness and thus implies a set of remedies. Elements of both are increasingly popular today among both governments and international agencies.

Lipton argues that the governments of most backward countries have endeavoured to maximize national savings at the cost primarily of rural consumption through

a number of mechanisms: low prices for agricultural products, high prices for industrial sales to rural inhabitants, little investment in agriculture, etc. All this, despite the fact, so he argues, that the return on investment in agriculture tends to be higher than that on investment in industry. The result is the stagnation of rural output, the impoverishment of the peasants, an 'over-expanded' urban sector, and increasing inequality of income. Lipton attributes the cause to a systematic 'urban bias'.

There are a host of problems in this book of which only a few can be mentioned here. First, no adequate definition is provided of what 'development' is supposed to be. Others tend to rationalize retrospectively the purpose of economic development as an improvement in popular welfare (with a rather fanciful standard of more developed countries (m.d.c.s) popular welfare). Yet improved welfare or consumption was not the main drive which impelled the m.d.c.s towards development. Welfare was no more than an 'accidental' by product of the pursuit of profits by thousands of businessmen, the pursuit of enhanced national power by a group of advanced States, and, in our own century, the need for a labour force capable of much higher levels of productivity than earlier. Economic development, on the historical scale, was rather a process whereby capital was accumulated and the labour force transformed (from low productivity to high productivity activities). Thus, greater inequality or a failure to improve popular welfare is not evidence that economic development is not taking place, nor that, in due time, real incomes of the majority will not improve (the m.d.c.s took a remarkably long time to improve mass real incomes).

Is the book then premature? It is not, since the terms upon which development takes place have changed. With radically changed capital-output and capital-labour ratios, the two complementary components of the concept of development (capital accumulation and the transformation of the labour force) have come apart. High industrial output can now be achieved without the transformation of the labour force; a national government can secure considerable industrial power without involving the majority. The common condition – high productivity industrial enclaves in a sea of urban and rural low productivity – is so general, it bespeaks a common structural source, whether the country is China or Brazil.

Lipton's explanation of the problem takes him into an account of social structure and psychology. He asserts – without serious demonstration – that the crucial dichotomy is urban/rural. By 'urban' he seems to mean rich, capitalist, ruling order, and by 'rural' poor or oppressed. He is thus obliged to deny something of the severity of urban poverty (he makes unpersuasive efforts to suggest that the urban poor are really temporary rural immigrants, but without demonstration), and to conceal the powerful and, in many cases, decisive role of the rural rich. This is surprising since he is familiar with India where, on the one hand, urban real wages are very low (low in the organized sector, and very low indeed in the very much larger unorganized urban sector), have stagnated in the main since 1947, and the trade unions extraordinarily weak; on the other hand, the richer farmers have been remarkably successful in pushing up prices, preventing land

reform and land taxation, and destroying the government's efforts to nationalize the wheat trade. Lipton reserves particularly sharp criticism for what he loosely calls a 'labour aristocracy' (a term, originally reasonably precise but now little more than abusive); but scarcely any criticism at all for the kulaks. In the Indian case, indeed, the government seems to have had a consistent 'rural bias' since the end of the second five-year plan, without any of the dramatic results Mr Lipton suggests ought to ensue.

Much of Lipton's case is incisive, but flawed by the extraordinarily weak concept of 'urban bias'. In his account, it is inexplicable why people who live and work in urban areas are biased in their favour. British businessmen were not 'biased' against investing in India in the nineteenth century because they happened to live in Britain, and there is no reason to believe Indian investors are any less rational. If businessmen invest in particular places, one must presume it is in response to higher likely returns. Why are the returns higher to them, when, Lipton seeks to show, agriculture has a higher potential return?

It is here Lipton could have cast some light instead of moralizing about psychological deviations or 'vested interests', as if either were somehow the starting point of events instead of being no more than the results of factor pricing. One of the few contributions on the question[1] attributes the direction and nature of investment to national protection and the policies associated with import substitution. We might amend the case to include conditions of much more severe world competition by the m.d.c.s and radically changed capital-output and capital-labour ratios. But then we are faced with one of the whole thicket of contradictions embedded in the notion of national economic development – without protection, there will be little industrialization; with protection, many of the severe problems Lipton identifies become inevitable. For a government, harried by threats to its national independence, the need for independent industrial power is urgent. It is urgent even if a government requires only the physical power to defend its borders, as Engels noted long ago:

> 'From the moment warfare became a branch of the *grande industrie* (ironclad ships, rifled artillery, quickfiring and repeating cannons, repeating rifles, steel-covered bullets, smokeless powder, etc.), *la grande industrie*, without which all these things cannot be made, became a political necessity. All these things cannot be had without a highly-developed metal manufacture. And that manufacture cannot be had without a corresponding development in all other branches of manufacture, especially textiles'.[2]

The national State and its separate interest in national power (not at all the same thing as popular welfare) is not a character in Lipton's drama, even though in all backward countries, it is the largest single agency in the economy. Thus the source

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[1]Ian Little, Tibor Scitovsky, Maurice Scott, *Industry and trade in some developing countries, A comparative study*, OECD/Oxford University Press, 1970.

[2]Letter to Danielson, Sept 1892, in *Selected Correspondence, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, London, 1936, p 498.

of national investment policies is not some nebulous 'bias', but the structure of world competition which impels each less developed State to industrialize as the condition of the survival of its power.

But is it even true that 'squeezing' the rural population is or has been a major source of accumulation in our own times? Lipton seems to think this is true of the Soviet Union when recent evidence does not support him. Soviet accumulation seems to have come primarily from the urban labour force; the countryside was collectivized both to remove a political threat and to guarantee a stable supply of foodstuffs (a small and declining element in the national income). The higher is labour productivity in industry and the poorer the rural population (and the less susceptible to control), the more this is likely to be true. In Marx's sense – as opposed to Lipton's – exploitation of the urban labour force is now so high, accumulation takes place in a way inconceivable in the early phases of European industrialization (when the role of agriculture and colonies was much more important). This is not to deny that resources are taken from the countryside, only that this transfer – makes only a relatively small contribution to accumulation. Analogously, the transfer of resources from backward to advanced countries has become relatively unimportant for the advanced.

Professor Lipton's book would have benefited from some stringent editing. It is somewhat hectic and repetitive, with many half-truths not properly sorted out. The author has a penchant for caricaturing those with whom he disagrees and attributing their arguments to irrational sources; the retreat into psychology only obscures important questions. Nonetheless, his theme is a very important one, and his account is stimulating as well as provocative.

NIGEL HARRIS

The Exploding Cities, PETER WILSHER and ROSEMARY RIGHTER; *Andre Deutsch,* London, 1975; pp 238; £4.25.

The Large City: a World Problem, URSULA K. HICKS; *Macmillan, London,* 1974; pp 270; £6.50.

The Habitat Conference has marked a further step forward in confirming the emergence of a new and more appropriate set of policies to meet the problems of l.d.c. cities. These two books can be evaluated as earlier contributions to this trend, and can be judged on their offerings in both the policy and administrative/financial aspects of this crucial subject.

At first sight The Exploding Cities with its journalist authorship, glossy photographs and racy chapter titles might appear suspect when considered as a serious contribution to discussion on urban problems in l.d.c.'s. This is far from the case: it turns out to be a valuable book for teachers and students in this field, and also for the general reader.

The book results from an international conference organised by the Sunday

Times in Oxford in 1974 in connection with World Population Year which brought together many leading practitioners and thinkers from all over the world. The authors are to be congratulated on the way they have moulded the conference papers and conclusions, so often voluminous and only available after long delay, into a concise and very readable book which was available only a few months after the occasion. Two parts of the book have separate authorship, the chapter on 'The Self-Help Society' being contributed by John Turner and Bryan Roberts, and the epilogue by Barbara Ward, being substantially her keynote speech for the conference.

The book divides into four main sections: 'The Explosive Ingredients' establishes the scale and scope of the problem: 'The Crisis of Affluence' looks at the experience of western industrialized countries emphasising the failures and limitations of the 'developed' model; 'The Cities of the Poor' discusses specific problems and emerging solutions in l.d.c. cities: and 'Communes and Communism' looks for an answer to the question whether Russian and Chinese experience has been any more successful than the west.

The first section presents the usual graphic picture of grim conditions, population growth, rural urban migration and urban 'problems', but there is a more hopeful message running through it which suggests that with a different interpretation of the facts, even accepting the inevitability of growth and migration, the cities can be places of opportunity and development rather than of despair. The city has its own resilience, but also seems to be subject to the danger of decay and decline. The challenge is to achieve a sufficient degree of understanding of the city's inevitable complexity to devise policies, preferably centring on jobs rather than housing, which harness the potential for self-sustaining development.

The cities of the industrialised west are exploding not so much from growth, but by reason of their failure to provide a satisfactory physical and social environment. The second part of the book develops Barbara Ward's theme of the 'Inadvertent City' whose undesirable features and failures in planning, housing, transportation and social integration, are such that its adoption as a model for third world city development must be questioned. Interestingly it points to new lines of thinking which included approaches having something in common with self help and community management approaches increasingly being adopted in l.d.c.'s. The question of governing the metropolis is raised, and some of the problems of size, political commitment, resources and participation are briefly outlined, but in general this book is more useful in defining the environment of administration and the implications for administration of the changing character of this environment and of policies appropriate to it, and does not really tackle the question of political and administrative machinery.

For this reviewer the five chapters of the third section provide one of the book's two most important contributions, namely a statement of what may by now be described as the 'new orthodoxy' for strategies and sectoral policies for urban development in the third world. There is a full discussion in Turner and Roberts' chapter on the Self-Help Society and the Ensuring Limits to *Laissez-faire*, of the

difficult question of the relationship between self-help and community effort on the one hand, and public planning and provision of needed infrastructure on the other. This is one of the new 'frontiers' of urban development policy with significant implications also for administrative machinery, the solution to which the writers recognize must depend greatly on local circumstances, rather than on the blind application of a new orthordoxy. Employment, the role of the informal sector, and labour-intensive activities are covered with some useful case material on promising developments, but recognising too the huge gap still to be closed, and the slow change of bureaucratic attitudes to the less prestigious and more untidy forms of urban activity.

The second important contribution of the book is that it offers a world-wide view of urbanization, identifying the distinguishing characteristics of the process now being experienced in the newly-urbanizing countries from the path earlier trodden by the industrial west, and also casting a sidelong glance at Russia and China in case they turn out to have found the magic answer. The assessment of China is that while there has been success in improving urban living conditions, establishing order and social control, achieving a more regionally balanced pattern of development and in returning urban migrants to rural employment, China has not been free from explosive urban growth, or from failure to modernise the urban administration; and above all, with the breakdown of the 'urban commune' experiment, it has failed to develop a distinctively socialist form of urban economic and social organisation. Socialist states in Africa face the same challenge of devising urban policies to match their ideology and integrating them with rural policy. Again in Russia, despite massive achievement in physical development, the needs of the industrial bureaucracy have dictated the pattern of urban form, and neither the planning machinery nor local administrative institutions have succeeded in evolving a model which serves social needs: consequently Russia offers few lessons for other parts of the world.

It is gratifying that this book, which has been out of print, is due to be reprinted, as it deserves wide circulation among the bureaucrats and politicians whose understanding of the problems and committment to relevant solutions is so urgently required.

The Large City also derives from composite origins, though with single authorship. Lady Hicks, who needs no introduction in this journal, describes her approach as that of an 'economist with a special interest in finance' in which capacity she contributed to the Intermet programme on Metro problems in Toronto in 1967. Out of this grew a concern with urban problems and urban management, and the book consists substantially of a collection of papers written on a variety of occasions, and resulting from field work in Japan and India, and assignments for the World Bank. Despite its single authorship, the book is less of a unity than the Exploding Cities, and there is a certain amount of overlap in a number of chapters, for example on the subject of metropolitan structures, and finance.

The first part of the book deals with questions of metropolitan and financing

firstly in general terms and then with selected examples of recent experience. The analysis of structural alternatives does not have the systematic presentation of Walsh's Urban Challenge to Government (Praeger 1968), but there is some useful case material especially from USA. Developing countries feature only marginally in this part.

The second part is a valuable case study of urban problems and administration in Japan. This describes the scale and nature of problems in another country that has given priority to industrial growth and is now beginning to face the consequent social problems and infrastructural deficits. The last of the four chapters is the most interesting and describes and evaluates the administrative and financial system that tries to tackle these problems. The conclusion is that the post-war structure is sound, but still somewhat centralised and 'Victorian', and would benefit from the infusion of new management styles and techniques, including budgetary reform. Financial inadequacy results not so much from lack of revenue sources, though these could be rationalised, but from lack of political will and inadequate access to loan funds for capital development.

In the third part of the book the author turns to the developing countries. Three chapters are papers for a World Bank Seminar in 1971, the centre piece of which is one on metropolitan finance. This contains a useful discussion of alternative revenue sources, valuation methods, and grant systems. It provides a less comprehensive coverage of the subject as a whole than her paper for the Toronto Metropolitan Conference in 1967, but it is more specifically oriented to the situation of developing countries. The chapter is perhaps rather lacking in live examples of financing systems which have evolved to meet the requirements of progressiveness, elasticity, and political acceptability (though these questions are certainly discussed), but this is partly because very few such examples exist, and partly because this is an area where very little systematic field research has been done.

The best chapter in the book is that on Urban Problems in India. There is a description and critical evaluation of housing programmes and their financing, with forward-looking suggestions on squatter upgrading: there is a particularly detailed study of the complexities and defects of the central-state-local financing system for urban development with practical suggestions for simplification, greater devolution of responsibility to state and local level and greater redistributive impact: and there is a discussion of the finances of municipal areas with suggested reforms to the tax structure. Rather than attempt to capture increases in land value through a betterment tax, which is administratively tiresome, she suggests a general tax on capital values, initially in addition to rates, possibly restricting it to the unimproved value of land. The chapter barely touches organisational structures in the metropolitan cities, but in any case the Metropolitan Development Authorities have emerged since this was written.

Being composed of parts written for different purposes at different times this book is not a comprehensive work on metropolitan problems and management, but it contains valuable material especially on Japan and India and on the crucial and

sparsely documented subject of finance. The author's long experience in this field, and continued ability to keep up an active involvement in many parts of the world are their own recommendation.

DAVID PASTEUR

Educational Policy and its Financial Implications in Tanzania, TA NGOC CHAU and FRANCOISE CAILLODS; *The UNESCO Press, Paris* 1975; pp 137.

In this book, the authors have examined the financial prospects for the achievement of the aims in education of the Tanzanian Second Five-Year Plan, 1969-1974 (afterwards extended to 1975). The result is a competent and detailed analysis based on an understanding of the system that, with minor errors of detail, is remarkable. For economists and educational planners, the book provides a valuable example of the way in which the costs of educational services may be calculated and presented in a form in which they can most usefully be displayed to those responsible for political decisions.

Such, after all, is one of the principal purposes of educational planning. In a developing country anxious to catch up in the shortest possible time with the standards of living and of social provision in the richer countries, where popular expectations far outrun public resources, it is inevitable and proper that ambitious policies are proposed from time to time to speed up the rate of progress. In Tanzanian education, this pressure has been rendered particularly acute by the emphasis placed on spontaneous, self-reliant activity and on the new opportunities for communal enterprise generated by the villagisation programme. Universal provision of basic education is seen not only as a right, but as the unique means of developing the human resources on which self-reliant village communities must rely.

The problem for educational planners has, therefore, been how to maximise educational output with an appropriate sense of urgency and priority within the limits imposed by the economy as a whole. Such a task has required not only a detailed analysis of educational data, but an estimate of the future prospects for the economy and of the share of the national product that can reasonably be devoted to education. Calculations of education's future share of the revenue are inevitably subject to the many uncertainties inherent in all economic forecasting and also depend on political estimates of the claims of education in competition with other urgent and important objects of public expenditure.

Nevertheless, an attempt to identify the economic terms on which proposed policies might be successful, or on the other hand would be beyond all reasonable hope of fulfilment, is a planning task of the first importance in any developing country, where needs are seemingly without limit and resources seriously wanting.

Ta Ngoc Châu and Françoise Caillods have taken us in this book through all the stages of precisely this kind of calculation, using data prevailing at the time of their researches (1974). What they have produced is a valuable case study in which the appropriate analytical procedure is fully described and some of the necessary

assumptions, approximations and inferences are discussed. It would have been useful at some points in the narrative to look over the authors' shoulders at their working papers and practising educational planners, who are among the chief beneficiaries from a study of this kind, would certainly have liked to have seen a step by step explanation of some of the calculations, such as the cost table at the foot of page 67. Perhaps an appendix could have been added to contain this material.

Subsequent history has invalidated some of the authors' assumptions, but not the analysis. The upward adjustment of teachers' salaries, particularly at the lower end of the scale, and the dramatic inflationary rise in the cost of educational materials, are changes that can easily be incorporated into the findings. The planning projections in this study were made at constant prices and it was assumed from the start that price changes, which are difficult to forecast, would have to be brought in at a later stage. But there have been other changes of a non-financial kind, for which the forecasts in this volume make no allowance. Of these, the most spectacular and far-reaching has been the decision to bring back the date of universal primary education from 1989 to 1978.

The decisions of the National Executive Committee of TANU meeting at Musoma in November, 1974, were not concerned with a mere recalculation of existing plans on the previous assumptions with a view to some marginal improvement of the target date. At the Biennial Conference of the Party in September and October, 1973, a sharp acceleration of the policy of villagisation with a view to completion by the end of 1976 was ordained, in the firm belief that it was an essential prelude for any serious economic and social progress in rural Tanzania. In these new circumstances, the universal provision of access to a basic education was not only judged to be a matter of general expectation, but was also held to constitute an important part of the government's side of the bargain in the villagisation programme, whose advantages, in terms of social benefits, must be made visible to the villagers at the earliest possible moment.

The government's reaction to this formidable challenge was to introduce new factors into the planning of primary education not envisaged during the preparation of the Second Five-Year Plan. One of these was a much greater dependence on 'self-reliance' to produce the buildings and even perhaps a modicum of the hardware required for the educational process. Another device was the establishment of a 'trainee-teachers' programme involving an elaborate combination of training on the job, instruction by radio, correspondence education and short courses. During the three-year period of this training, those taking part would occupy positions in the school's establishment, but at half the cost of a regular trained teacher. No costly new teachers' training colleges needed to be built or maintained and, by recruiting students from the villages, fewer new teachers' houses would have to be provided.

These changes of policy were promulgated between the completion of the book and its publication. Had they been foreseen, they would radically have changed the authors' cost calculations and perhaps their conclusions. Subsequent history

has also shown that drought, inflation and unfavourable trends in world trade have adversely affected the growth of the economy, particularly in the monetary sector (though the subsistence sector has shown remarkable resilience under the impact of self-reliance), as the following table shows:

Percentage increase in GDP at constant 1966 prices

Sector	Year				Rate assumed
	1971-2	1972-3	1973-4	1974-5	in book
Monetary	5.1	4.7	3.4	3.1	6.7
Subsistence	8.0	1.6	−0.9	8.5	2.8
Total	5.9	3.8	2.2	4.6	5.7

(Source: Hali ya Uchumi wa Taifa katika Mwaka 1975-6: Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1976)

On the other hand, the proportion of the GDP taken in government revenue has continued to rise, contrary, it seems, to the authors' expectations (p 112). The following figures give some idea of what has been happening.

Percentage increase of revenue, revenue as percent of monetary GDP and debt service charges as percent of revenue

Item	1971-2	1972-3	1973-4	1974-5	1975-6	1976-7
% increase of revenue over previous year	10.5	26.8	28.3	32.0	−4.1	19.2
Revenue as % of monetary GDP at current prices	28.1	30.5	33.0	37.3	–	–

(Source: Hali ya Uchumi, 1975-6 and Mpango wa Maendeleo wa Mwaka 1976-7: Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1976).

But interesting and valuable as a revised cost calculation in the light of recent events would be, it can have little bearing on the intrinsic value of this book. No case study of the kind can hope to retain for long its validity in detail, yet the value of this one as a methodological treatise is considerable and as such is little affected by these changes. The fact is, of course, that no educational planner would think of regarding his forecasts and conclusions as having unchanging validity. Their purpose is to give the best possible guide to the policy makers in the light of the circumstances and facts known at the time. But policies are revised and parameters change. Even basic data, such as demographic information, may suffer quite serious amendment after a new population census. To be useful, therefore, planning is never a once-for-all prophesy about the future, but requires year-by-year correction in the light of emerging knowledge of the facts and in response to shifts in government policy, or changes in educational practice.

Ta Ngoc Châu and Françoise Caillods are no strangers to Tanzania. In 1970, they produced a useful case study on Tanzania with regard to the 'Effects of Demographic Growth on the Development and Cost of Primary Education and Teacher Training', which in 1972 was incorporated in a collection of four such case studies under the title 'The Effect of Population Growth on the Development and Cost

of Education in Developing Countries'. It is much to be hoped that they, and the International Institute of Educational Planning that they serve, will continue this beneficial link with Tanzania.

ROGER CARTER

Big City Government in India: Councillor, Administrator and Citizen in Delhi, PHILIP OLDENBURG; *University of Arizona Press* 1976; pp 450; $4.95 (paper), $9.50 (cloth).

This is a study in political ethnography the author claims, signifying that he does not set out to substantiate any theory of urban politics but rather to let theory emerge from his observations. Oldenburg's observations are in fact heterogeneous: he spent much time with one city councillor on his rounds in one ward of Old Delhi (Shajahanabad): he interviewed local politicians of all parties and government officials, and he went to town on such statistics as he could find. The result is a mass of information, presented in the rather laboured manner one associates with an American Ph.D. thesis, on the relationships (or 'interfaces') between councillor, administrator and their public and much else besides. These relationships are crucial to the way a city's political and administrative system works but Oldenburg's method yeilds observations enough to show that Delhi is probably a rather different political phenomena from other Indian cities like Indore described by Jones (*Urban Politics in India*, Berkley 1974), or Lucknow described by Church ('Authority and Influence in Indian Municipal Politics: Administrators and Councillors in Lucknow', Asian Survey XIII No 4. April 74, pp 421-38), but does not provide us with explanation of the differences. While he denies a theoretical approach two weak 'theses' in fact pervade the work. The first is 'that an urban politics not only can exist in India, but that it is also a significant part of Indian democracy' (p 1). Such a thesis, to be interesting, requires some half reasonable grounds to suppose that this is not the case. But the contrary supposition is simply that 'there are many (people) in India who believe that 'politics' has no place in municipal government' (p 1): a clear admission that there often is. The difference of course lies in the quotes. When Indians say 'politics' disparagingly they do not mean the 'good' of participation in decision making but the 'bad' of political interference in the political process. Oldenburg goes on to show that it is precisely this other 'politics' which becomes institutionalised in city government. 'Municipal politics . . . concerns itself almost entirely with the implementation of policy and the distribution of benefits to the citizenry' (p 2).

His second finding is potentially more interesting. When politics is described in this way one anticipates a picture of patron-clientage and what Jones calls distributive politics in which administrators and politicians get caught up in the business of granting favours to client groups that are based upon caste, language, family or association. But Oldenburg found very little political structure in the sense of continuing interest groups and intermediary broker roles. The Councillor interacts with the public direct and his political workers have no personal following of captive voters. However the Councillor's business is still patronage. He ensures that the people of his ward receive water, street lighting and the services of sweepers

by issuing 'orders' to the officials in his entourage as he solicits complaints on his weekly rounds. But in spite of the mild indignity that the officials suffer this is more of a watchdog role than political interference. Indeed the Councillors role in redistributing services is largely confined to the disbursement of a discretionary constituency fund that the corporation annually creates. So to that extent patronage is institutionalised and legitimate.

So Delhi appears to be different. But what kind of difference is this? Is it simply that Oldenburg's style of participant observation shows up the normal day's activity for the Councillor while Jones' newspaper reading picks up the strategic acts of political recruitment at higher levels upon which parties are built? Or does legitimate patronage obviate the need for the more difficult patronage of special favours: or is the social structure of the capital really quite different from that of the provincial cities? To answer these questions one requires rather more theory than Oldenburg has given us.

DONALD CURTIS

The Enterprising Peasant: Economic Development in Gombe Emirate North Eastern State, Nigeria 1900-1968, MARY TIFFIN; *HMSO;* pp 209; £8.00.

At £8.00 net in paperback this book could be a tribute to the enterprising publisher as well as the enterprising peasant. Anyone except the fortunate reviewer will want to know what this sort of outlay is buying before placing an order.

A study of the economic development of the Gombe Emirate 1900-1968 may not appear to be the stuff of a best seller, but it is an enthralling story just the same and very well written. It held this reader's attention throughout at the level of description. At the level of analysis and prescription the author may carry less conviction. Dr Tiffen finds that 'the most important agent of development in Gombe Emirate has been the characteristics of its farmers . . . enterprising men who . . . have been willing to grow new crops to invest in new inputs and to work harder to secure future benefits'. In short, the peasants exhibit the archetypal behaviour of economic man as depicted by orthodox economists. Furthermore, during the greater part of the period covered by the study, land has been largely a free good. The prescription is that where land is a free good or very nearly, and the peasants are enterprising by nature, free markets fortified by good communications will generate all the increases in farm incomes needed to sustain indefinite growth. Central government should confine itself to pricing policies for export crops, research and taxation sufficient to develop supporting services especially communications. Enterprising peasants can do without education, health services, community development and all the other elements which are thought by many development specialists to be an indispensible concomitant of rural development.

Now it could be that Nigeria in whole or in part could best be left alone to develop on classical 19th-century Western European and Northern American lines. But this begs a great many questions. In 1966 for example, Nigeria all but came apart

at the seams during the civil war and even now the processes of civilianisation and constitutional change remain undecided. Dr Tiffen herself stresses the importance of governmental factors which tended to favour development in Gombe during the period under study. One wonders to what extent governmental factors today are advancing or retarding development. Large families have apparently been conducive to expansion hitherto in Gombe but with the growing scarcity of land for cultivation by large and extended families the desire to expand must soon throw up significant social and cultural problems. Enterprise may be largely instinctive in this part of Northern Nigeria but can it cope with the social and other casualties likely to materialise as consequences of inflation generated by the oil boom? One is left with the sensation that the author's prescription is too simplistic for Nigeria as a whole let alone for the greater part of the developing world today.

Nevertheless the message conveyed in this book is a valuable antidote to much of the standard literature on peasant societies which stresses their innate conservatism and resistance to change and which puts the highest premium on government intervention at most points in the production and distribution process.

L. W. NORWOOD

Legal Pluralism: An Introduction to Colonial and Neo-Colonial Laws, M. B. HOOKER; *Clarendon Press, Oxford,* 1975; Index and bibliography; pp 60; £15.

Attempts to provide a broad survey of important patterns and trends in the legal systems of the world have generally met with a mixed reception in this country. Sir Henry Maine's bold generalizations have at least received the compliment of sustained critical attention and debate. John Henry Wigmore's *Panorama of the World Legal Systems* (1928) was treated so disdainfully by an English reviewer in the Harvard Law Review that the great man refused to submit his next book for review in that publication. More recent works, such as David and Brierley's *Major Legal Systems of the World Today* (1963), Diamond's *Primitive Laws, Past and Present* (1971), Derrett's *An Introduction to Legal Systems* (1965) and Roberts-Wray *Commonwealth and Colonial Law* (1966) have generally been treated with the politeness that often precedes obscurity or oblivion. The scholar contemplating writing such a book should be warned by the precedents that he is embarking on a task which is likely to prove to be daunting, unfashionable and thankless.

From this point of view, Mr Hooker's book deserves sympathetic attention. It is a brave attempt to provide a coherent account of legal pluralism, that is the phenomenon of laws or systems of laws of different historical, and often cultural, origins co-existing 'within the same territorial area of a sovereign state' (309). The bibliography of secondary writings gives some indication of the difficulties involved: it runs to nearly eighty pages and contains over a thousand entries; it is selective, indeed in some respects idiosyncratic, and it ranges over several disciplines, with a strong emphasis on anthropological writings. This morass of literature abounds with cross-currents and treacherous reefs; much of it is turgid and muddy and the

shallows outnumber the depths. We are in Mr Hooker's debt for reflecting on, as well as reading, all this material and for taking on the role of guide, perhaps more in the style of Intourist than Thomas Cook – an informative, but somewhat heavy, orthodox account.

The book can be read as a collection of largely self-contained essays: the first chapter is mainly devoted to a commentary on the writings of anthropologists such as Bohannan, Gluckman, Hoebel, and Pospisil. The succeeding chapters deal with the interaction of imported, religious and customary laws in the colonial and immediately post-colonial periods in countries formerly ruled by the British (chapters 2 and 3), French (chapter 4) and Dutch (chapter 5). There is an interesting account of the legal status of indigenous peoples in South Africa, the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australasia. Chapter VII deals with the voluntary adoption of Western Laws in Turkey, Thailand and Ethiopia; it is followed by a straightforward description of legal pluralism in the U.S.S.R., with a brief appendix on recent developments in Chinese law. The book concludes with a general discussion of Comparative Law, Conflicts of Law and Plural Laws.

The net result is a compendium of useful information, supplemented by some thoughtful comments on a variety of particular issues. It is less successful as an attempted synthesis, perhaps because at the level of theory the author's reach has exceeded his grasp. But rather than dwell on its theoretical limitations, the reviewer prefers to commend it as a helpful general introduction to an important subject.

WILLIAM TWINING

Government and the Planning Process; P. H. LEVIN; *George Allen & Unwin;* Index and References; pp 337; £6.50.

It is a pity that a book that needed to be written on this subject has concentrated on two New Towns just at the time that these are going to be less and less important, due both to the change of emphasis on the importance of central urban renewal and financial stringencies.

The title would lead one to expect far more than is factually provided: indeed one rapidly gains the impression that one of the conditions imposed on the author by the SSRC, who gave him a grant for a three-year study, was that his published work must contain over 300 pages. So much repetition and padding is included, which leads only to the confusion rather than the benefit of the reader, that one wonders how Dr Levin produced a thesis on Physics. This was the subject in which he took his higher degree, and it is surprising that such a discipline has not led to a more logical and analytical approach to his present subject.

The object of the book is exemplary. Few people understand the involvement of Government in the Planning Process. This is as true for industrial, commercial and all other types of Planning as for Land Use and New Towns. So one could niggle about the title because this book is looking at two 'New Towns' and seeing what degree of Government involvement there is and how it could be improved.

No one could criticise the amount of reading that Dr Levin has done. There are about 500 notes and references for the fifteen chapters of the book. But not all are really relevant. It must be unique to have a footnote for the expression 'loss of face' (Note 7 Chapter 2) particularly as the author himself goes on to use 168 words to define it. This example of padding out the work is too frequently repeated.

It is unfortunate that this book concentrates in great detail on only two major planning developments involving Government, both of which have already been the subject of very considerable study.

Apparently the book was originally planned to spend its first third on generalised procedures, its second third on considering these in relation to his two examples, and its final third on suggesting improved ways of Government Involvement. These proportions have been retained within a page or so, but only at the expense of losing the reader's interest at a very early stage and never recapturing it.

This is due to the fact that in spite of his scientific training the author seems not to have the ability to analyse and criticise the Government's decision-taking activities. If he has then he certainly has not got the ability to set out clearly and logically in a language which even the planner, let alone the layman, can understand, what it is that he is trying to say.

The problem of fighting one's way through the verbiage and punctuation of the first few chapters is likely to result in none but dedicated students reading this book. As an example, the words 'I shall define' are a logical opening to a sentence, but they do become boringly repetitive when used three times in a single paragraph. Even more exasperating is his use of the subordinate dash in addition to more general punctuation. So rapidly does the author use up his quota of commas, semi-colons, colons, full stops and question marks that he has no alternative, in his convoluted and almost unintelligible sentences, but to have recourse to this – dash. It can be, and is, very irritating.

A book is only as good as its expressed ideas are good. Unless the expression of these ideas is also good, from the aspects of clarity, non-repetition and logic (in the sense of building one idea upon another) then the book is a failure.

Whether one works one's way steadily through the book or jumps to conclusions and recommendations at the end, one is left wondering what exactly the author wants to happen. The last two chapters contain Dr Levin's ideas on improving the level of 'people-involvement' but he keeps harping back to earlier parts of the book without clearly explaining what it is he wants to be done. Indeed in these backward digressions, if the reader takes them up, it is confusing to find contradictions of some of the earlier and strongly-written beliefs. For example, the argument that at present a scheme becomes firmly committed too early because the officials are afraid to change their minds because they will do anything to avoid 'loss of face', is contradicted by his proposal that there should be an even earlier official commitment (p 276).

Only briefly is the most difficult problem of all planning touched on and that right at the end. A Planning Target is a moving target and it is moving and will continue to move in a totally unpredictable way. By some strange quirk Dr Levin manages to give the impression at the end of his book that that is what it has all been about. I wish it had.

JFCD

Author's Rejoinder

Dr Rowton Simpson has sent us the following comments on Dr C. M. McDowell's Review Article on *Land Law and Registration* which appeared in our January issue.

I am encouraged by the printing of an Author's Rejoinder in your January issue to ask you if you would allow me space for explanation or correction of some three or four points in Dr McDowell's review article of Land and Law and Registration, which otherwise might confuse or even prejudice your readers – an important section of the readership for whom my book was intended.

Firstly, I note with some dismay that Dr McDowell says 'Too much should not, therefore, be claimed for registration of titles as a vehicle of law reform or as a cure for economic under-development', thus apparently equating these two matters. I do indeed claim much for registration of title as a convenient and appropriate vehicle for the reform of land law of the sort contained in our Law of Property Act 1925, and I offer the Kenya Registered Land Act 1963 as a successful example of what I mean; but nowhere have I made the slightest claim that registration of title is a cure for economic under-development. On the contrary, in the second paragraph of the book, I gave a categorical warning against any such claim, and I repeated this warning in other places (eg in paragraph 1.5.4 I specifically caution against over-enthusiastic claims).

Secondly, there is the suggestion that Chapter 9 which 'attempts' a summary of the advantages and disadvantages of registration of title would more appropriately have appeared at the end of the book 'when the author could have redeployed his many arguments and examples in a more conceptual framework as a fitting conclusion'. Admittedly the book now appears to lack a suitable ending and Dr McDowell's suggestion seems such an obvious improvement that I feel I must offer an explanation for the order I adopted. In my defence I would say that I expected few people, least of all students, to read through the whole volume as an entity. I considered that the first eight chapters presented the general thesis (specially appropriate for student reading and offering a broad account of the whole subject) and Chapter 9 naturally came next to wind it up and summarize the case for and against registration of title. I honestly doubt if 'a more protracted treatment' would help very much, even if it appeared at the end of the book. I am also mystified by the suggestion that 'such a chapter would have been improved by a comparison of registration of titles with other systems which are designed to achieve similar results'. Surely the only other systems which are designed to achieve similar results are systems of deeds registration and these, in various forms and at some length, are dealt with in Chapter 6 where, I hope, I leave my readers in no doubt

as to the superiority of registration of title. I wonder what other systems Dr McDowell was thinking of, bearing in mind, of course, that registration of title is only a onveyancing device (the best yet devised, I argue) and must not be confused with schemes for improving the way in which land is held and used, though it may be a valuable, even essential, adjunct to such schemes.

Lastly, and most important, are Dr McDowell's 'final comments' which 'relate specifically to legal matters' and which, in view of his position, are naturally likely to carry great weight with your readers. Dr McDowell categorically states, almost as if it were axiomatic, that 'the presentation of complicated legislation by means of printing statutory provisions accompanied by a commentary or annotations is only satisfactory if the annotations are full and refer to all the actual or potential legal difficulties in the statutory language'. This could be very damaging for, if it were true, it condemns as unsatisfactory more than a third of the book. I still believe, however, that there are many persons who will wish to see the actual wording of the statutes, and of these not a few will want to know the origin and purpose of various provisions. Admittedly, apart from the occasional explanations (intended more for the layman than the lawyer) the commentary is little more than an elaborate comparative table, but I have also provided at the beginning of each Part of the Kenya Registered Land Act the descriptive account which Dr McDowell advocates, but seems to have overlooked in my book. I find this specially disappointing because the publishers, at my behest, went to great pains to enable this to be easily picked out.

The unkindest cut of all is the 'example of some importance . . . in relation to over-riding interests, particularly the rights of persons in actual occupation of land' which Dr McDowell gives to illustrate the 'less than comprehensive commentary', charging me with failing 'to mention how the operation of such a provision can, on occasion, defeat the interest of a purchaser in good faith of a registered title'. This would indeed be a serious omission if I were guilty of it, and I therefore cannot leave it unrefuted. A footnote on the section referred to (s.30 of the Kenya Registered Land Act at p 499) reads 'See 2.5.1' where, under the heading 'Over-riding interests' I give an example: 'For instance, there may be a short-term tenant in occupation who cannot be evicted because of a law protecting such tenants, thus denying the proprietor (and any purchaser from him) the possession to which, from the register alone, he would appear to be entitled'. Could the possibly adverse effect of an over-riding interest be more plainly stated? And for full measure and the benefit of those who wish to study this topic in greater detail I pointed out that Ruoff and Roper discuss over-riding interests at length in their Chapter 6 (comprising 25 pages) and Baalman devotes 20 pages to 'exceptions from indefeasibility' in his New South Wales Commentary.

I forbear to take up Dr McDowell on questions of doctrine not merely because discretion is the better part of valour, but because I am no doctrinaire. I have treasured the story about Albany and conditional freehold ever since my first visit to HM Land Registry in 1945 when it was told to me with enough relish to imprint itself on my memory. Another illusion shattered!

Book Notes

Internal Migration in Developing Countries
MICHAEL P. TODARO *ILO Geneva*
Appendices and bibliography: pp 106, Francs (Swiss) 20.
Here is a carefully prepared study by an able and experienced economist who examines the literature and the theories of internal migration in Third World countries and makes recommendations as to priority areas for future research in this field. As an economist's exercise in itself it is admirably executed. But the world is not a place where people play roles to fit economic theories. It is filled with a miscellany of people often moved by irrational and seemingly perverse impulses. Before there was industry towns grew, industry has accelerated the process, but the reasons for migration are so varied that one wonders how far the author has allowed his premises to be governed by the narrow view of the economist's spectacles. Social and political factors are just as important. Rather naively Professor Todaro suggests that the problems created by rural/urban migrations have only just been recognised – because economists have been slow to appreciate what many others have realised for a very long time – reiterated at Cambridge Conferences throughout the sixties (and by enlightened economists in those days too!). Chagga youngsters used to migrate to the coast, not for money, they could readily earn more at coffee-picking on Kilimanjaro – but for the hell of it, the change, the excitement; others migrate as a result of political pressure. The Kikuyu are always ready to migrate to open up new lands; the urban unemployed will often prefer the squalor of slum poverty to rural migration with a healthier environment and enough to eat. There is not necessarily a logical pattern to fit with any particular theory. Rural-Urban migration in Latin America has generated its own multiplying effect impelled whether consciously or not by the desire for the independence and freedom in the towns, casting aside the feudal-yoke of the rural areas – yet as likely as not the immigrant in San Palo will find himself in the hands of an employer or landlord who was the very landowner from whom he sought to escape when he left the hinterland of Recife.

Not all who migrate do so permanently – notwithstanding the ever-increasing numbers in Calcutta, there is always a steady out-migration going on. Of course economic analysis of the whys and wherefores, the impact and the consequences of migration is needed. But migration is a major human problem and it cannot be understood properly if it is examined solely in terms of economic theory.

The Making of Politicians: Studies from Africa and Asia
W. H. MORRIS-JONES (Ed) *University of London, the Athlone Press*, 1976
Index; pp 249; £5.50.
This volume contains 15 selected papers presented during 1972-74 to a seminar on comparative politics at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies. Most of the contributors are political scientists at British Universities. The theme of the seminar was 'career bibliography of middle-rank politicians' and the period covered is from the era of late Colonial rule through decolonization to independence of the five Commonwealth Countries studied; the focus is on India with two papers each on Ghana and Uganda and one each on Sri Lanka and East Bengal while a province of Pakistan: Professor Morris-Jones is to be congratulated on the varied political menu on offer – varied from study in some depth of individuals such as Kristo das Pal in Calcutta, Kondha Lakshman Bapuji in Andhra Pradesh, to group studies such as 'Gandhi's Men' in 1917-22 and the Shastris of Kashi and Lahore. Each author writes of an area he or she has studied

closely and to the high level of professional competence which this ensures can be added good writing and good editing. Seminar reports are often dull and as often ill-edited. Here is a model of its kind which other editors could do well to follow. Nor is the interest aroused a transient one. There is Material here to stimulate researchers, to interest historians and political scientists. Here are the lieutenants who kept the big guns going, the ladder climbers who never quite made it to the top, the prima-donnas of Sri Lanka's family politics, landlord politicians and 'worthless agitators' rapidly transformed into Branch Chairmen of the ruling party as decolonization takes place. Binding the book together is the editor's introduction and his brief succinct working note which provided admirable guidelines to an excellent team of writers.

Organisational Aspects of Rural Development

AMAL RAY *The World Press, Culture*, 1976.
Tables, appendix, index, pp 84; Rupees 20.
There is too much gobbledegook in this small book, when in such few pages there is needless repetition, some direct contradiction. There are also some sensible points made – eg 'the most important task for the administrator is to create an appropriate family planning psychology in the rural areas' – there are also several odd remarks such as the need for co-ordination between Block and Bank staff. This is not a book which can really earn our commendation.

LONRHO - Portrait of an International

S. CRONJE, M. LING and G. CRONJE
Penguin Books in association with Julien Friedmann Books.
Appendices and index; pp 316.
Paperback £1.50, hardback £6.95.
One tends nowadays to think of the large Multicorporation as an interlocking conglomerate of companies controlled by highly-paid powerful Boards. TV Serials like Mogul have stimulated this popular view, with management in a sense composed of its own Whitehall-style hierarchy. It is certainly rare today for an entrepreneur on his own to build up an International Empire and be personally as capable as 'Tiny' Rowland of retaining public support in the corridors of power in developing countries, despite political controversy, despite procedure that evoked not merely opposition from the left, but had a Conservative Premier referring to LONRHO's 'unacceptable face of capitalism'.

The authors of this small volume tell the story how this modern-style young Rhodes emerged from the African backwoods and by guts, determination and both political and business skill, to create the LONRHO success story. Their judgement is that LONRHO has been moulded by Rowland in whose philosophy, as indivisible facets, are his interest in the political evolution of Africa and the generation of better African relations with the West on the one hand and the furtherance of LONRHO's interests on the other.

What the future holds for LONRHO or the volatile continent of Africa cannot be predicted, but that Rowland, has evoked sufficient trust in the eyes of the Third World to achieve a continuing success, must surely be due to the sincerity with which his beliefs are expressed, however unorthodox the methods may be.

Planning the Development of Universities - IV

VICTOR G. ONUSHKIN (Ed), *The UNESCO Press, Paris.*
Diagrams and appendices; pp 439.
The final volume of research publications on planning the development of Universities, contains five studies: the methodology of planning the Soviet education system; planning teaching work in Humbolt University, East Berlin; teaching and research at State University of New York, Buffalo; indicators and criteria for planning and management at the Western Australia Institute of Technology; and a University information system project at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium.

Law and Public Enterprise in Asia

Praeger Publishers Inc, New York for the International Legal Centre, pp 215 (no price available).
This monograph is based on a colloquium held in Sri Lanka in 1974.
Having regard to the rapid development of state economic agencies, public corporations and utilities throughout the newly-independent countries of Asia, participants concluded that lawyers need to give much more attention than hitherto to government economic enterprises. Many are powerful bodies sometimes monopolising public resources, controlling wage-employment opportunities, providing critical services and effecting national economic development, the quality of life and the interests of individuals – often within an inadequate legal framework.

The need for those with legal training to work with other professionals, eg administrators and economists, so as to obtain a fuller wider appreciation of the role of law and lawyers *vis-à-vis* public enterprise was stressed, and, no doubt hopefully, so as to help non-legal colleagues to appreciate the need for such enterprises to be governed by clear unequivocal laws.

Administrative and Organisational Problems in Rural Education
RAYMOND F. LYONS
International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO, Paris; 22pp.
This paper was presented at an ILEP Seminar and sought to stimulate discussion on the following themes: whether community participation was compatible with national planning, and how best to obtain such participation; whether community participation in the planning process leads to national planning starting at local level replacing planning that is centrally conceived; how to integrate formal and non-formal integration in educational programmes; how far local authorities can act on their own if they receive scant central or local support.

The conclusion drawn is to the effect that rural communities must learn to appreciate what their real needs are and be prepared to fight hard for their own interests. A distinction is drawn between participation of teachers, parents and government bodies in operating an educational system and preparation of programmes and the implementation of changes to reform them. Examples cited from Peru and Thailand show that the impetus for community participation comes from outside the community.

Political Risk Management
BRUCE LLOYD *Keith Shipton Developments, London,* 1976
pp 60; £1.50.
In this brief monograph Bruce Lloyd examines the diverse elements of risk-facing business organisations in the political sphere. As he sees it they differ very little from risk management generally; the impact of political uncertainties on the performance of an organisation, the development of alternative strategies to counter these risks and their impact on an organisation's decision making process.

Political risks as the author points out are common to developed and developing countries alike. Governments everywhere are tending to adopt an increasing role in the shape and direction of business world and business enterprises.

The particular value of Bruce Lloyd's argument lies in the emphasis he places on the social objectives of business which besides profits must be to service the future and present needs of the community. Industry, as he sees it is not just concerned with its own development but with the 'quality of life' in the environment in which an organisation operates. Appropriately he concludes by quoting John Humble 'Failure by Multinationals to adjust to the social environment of the many countries in which they operate will lead to business disasters'.

There is reading here which should be mandatory for business newcomers planning to expand overseas and there is much too which managers on the home front could usefully study.

Police Culture
DOUGLAS S. DRUMMOND *University of Missouri Press,* 1976; pp 45; £1.75.
A lot of study preceded the production of this monograph on what is described as 'Police-Culture' in the United States.

The author is a police officer with useful academic qualifications; he is also a part-time university lecturer: he writes straightforwardly though he tends to quote jargon-laden authorities.

The author's concern is with the 'cultural' development of police personnel themselves rather than police/community relations and the environment is rather the work-background of the police officer than the nature of the local community with which he deals day by day.

Douglas Drummond sees considerable improvement in the American Police Force, particularly with regard to rough tough methods now largely discarded – and it is clear that he had no doubt there was plenty of room for such improvement.

Sir Harry Atkinson
JUDITH BASSETT *Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press;*
Illustrated, bibliography, index; pp 196; £8.75.
Aged 21, Harry Atkinson joined in a 'clan emigration' from England to New Zealand when they opened up a farm in the area of New Plymouth naming the settlement

Hurworth. Judy Bassett's biography portrays a sturdy character who abandoned serious farming for full-time politics in the final era of what would now be called full internal self-government before the new dominion replaced the old colonial status. His principal opponent was Sir George Grey and despite his lack of charisma and his somewhat dull mediocrity, the steady consistent Atkinson came to be regarded as sounder and more trustworthy by the New Zealand electorate than the wealthier more aristocratic Grey. Atkinson might be described as a progressive Conservative while Grey represented rather unpredictable liberalism, though the whole settler front in their attitude towards land and keeping the Maoris in their place would by present standards be regarded as racist-imperialist. Atkinson, however, was no hawk, he was a simple honest good farming man, progressive by the standards of the day 'a Victorian figure in his world attitudes, especially in his sense of duty', yet strangely modern as a politician. He was a man of the centre who did work at the Treasury and as Premier to keep his country on a stable course and whose place as an important figure in New Zealand's history is well assured.

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